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H. A. Field

W. S. Coulson.

HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

GREEK,

WITH NOTES,

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

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1806.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA

CONTINUED.

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CHAP. LX.

I AM not able to specify what number of men each nation supplied, as no one has recorded it. The whole amount of the land forces was seventeen hundred thousand[57]. Their mode of ascertaining

[57] *Seventeen hundred thousand.*]—I remain still in doubt, says Richardson, whether any such expedition was ever undertaken by the *paramount sovereign of Persia.* Disguised in name by some Greek corruption, Xerxes may possibly have been a feudatory prince or viceroy of the western districts; and that an invasion of Greece may have possibly taken place under this prince, I shall readily believe, but upon a scale I must also believe infinitely narrower than the least exaggerated description of the Greek historians.

In Herodotus the reputed followers of Xerxes amount to 5,283,220. Isocrates, in his Panathenaicos, estimates the land army

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taining the number was this: they drew up in one place a body of ten thousand men; making these stand

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army in round numbers at 5,000,000. And with them Plutarch in general agrees; but such myriads appeared to Didorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other later writers, so much stretched beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four-fifths, to bring them within the line of possibility. Yet what is this, but a singular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the most consequential points of the expedition? What circumstance in the whole narration is more explicit in Herodotus, or by its frequent repetition, not in figures, but in words at length, seems less liable to the mistake of copiers? &c.—See *Richardson*.

Upon this subject, Larcher, who probably had never seen Richardson's book, writes as follows:

This immense army astonishes the imagination, but still is not incredible. All the people dependant on Persia were slaves; they were compelled to march, without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or advanced age were probably the only reasons which excused them from bearing arms. The only reasonable objection to be made to this recital of Herodotus is that which Voltaire has omitted to make—where were provisions to be had for so numerous an army? But Herodotus has anticipated this objection: "We have with us," says Xerxes, "abundance of provisions, and all the nations among which we shall come, not being shepherds, but husbandmen, we shall find corn in their country, which we shall appropriate to our own use."

Subsequent writers have, it is true, differed from Herodotus, and diminished the number of the army of Xerxes; but Herodotus, who was in some measure a cotemporary, and who recited his history to Greeks assembled at Olympia, where were many who fought at Salamis and Platea, is more deserving of credit than later historians.

The truth perhaps may lie betwixt the two different opinions of Richardson and Larcher. It is not likely, as there were many exiles from Greece at the court of Persia, that

Xerxes

stand together as compactly as possible, they drew a circle round them. Dismissing these, they enclosed the circle with a wall breast high; into this they introduced another and another ten thousand, till they thus obtained the precise number of the whole. They afterwards ranged each nation apart.

LXI. The nations who composed the army were these. I speak of the *Persians first, who wore

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Xerxes should be ignorant of the numbers and resources of Greece. To lead there so many millions seems at first sight not only unnecessary but preposterous. Admitting that so vast an army had marched against Greece, no one of common sense would have thought of making an attack by the way of Thermopylæ, where the passage must have been so tedious, and any resistance, as so few in proportion could possibly be brought to act, might be made almost on equal terms: whilst, on the contrary, to make a descent, they had the whole range of coast before them. With respect to provisions, the difficulty appears still greater, and almost insurmountable. I recur therefore to what I have before intimated; and believe, in contradiction to Richardson, that the expedition actually took place; but I cannot think, with Larcher, that the numbers recorded by Herodotus are consistent with probability.—*T.*

* Rennel says, that the Persians may be compared, in respect to the rest of the army of Xerxes, with the Europeans in a British army in India, composed chiefly of sepoys and native troops.

In reviewing the arguments on both sides in this second edition, there appears to me more good sense in the above short remark of Rennel, than in all that Richardson and Larcher have written on the subject.—The former is indeed absurd enough; he disbelieves Herodotus, yet seems inclined to credit the Persian poets, hence his dreams about the dignity of the Persian

wore small helmets on their heads, which they call tiaræ: their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves, and adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes; their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield called gerra, beneath which was a quiver[58]. They had short spears[59], large bows, and arrows made of reeds; and on their right side, a dagger suspended from a belt. They were led by Otanes, father of Amestris, one of the wives of Xerxes. The Persians were once called Cephenes by the Greeks; by themselves

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monarchs, and the expeditions of their feudatory princes, by which he attempts to explain or rather to confound the Scriptures. It appears from Herodotus himself, that the regular troops were but an inconsiderable part of the number. Probably Xerxes had not many more actual soldiers than the Greeks; the rest were desultory hordes fit only for plunder, and four-fifths of the whole were followers of the camp with rice, provisions, &c.—The army that marched under Lord Cornwallis at the siege of Seringapatam, in the first campaign, consisted of 20,000 troops, but the followers were more than 100,000.—This is the case in all Eastern countries.

[58] *A quiver.*]—It is probable, from this account, says Larcher, that on their march the Persians did not carry their shields in their hands, but suspended behind from their shoulders.

But there seems no ground for this opinion, for the shield might be on the left arm, and the quiver so fastened under it, either on the left shoulder, or on the left side, as to admit of the drawing arrows from it, under cover of the shield, in time of action. I recollect no examples of soldiers whose backs were defended by a shield. In the figures of

selves and their neighbours Artæi*. But when Perseus, the son of Danaë and Jupiter, went to reside with Cepheus son of Belus, he married his daughter Andromeda, and had by her a son named Perses, who was left with his grandfather. Cepheus had no male offspring, and the Persians took their name from his grandson Perses.

LXII. The Medes had the same military dress; indeed, properly speaking, it is Median†, and not Persian. Their leader was Tigranes, of the family of Achæmenides. In ancient times the Medes were universally called Arii; but when Medea of Colchis went over to these Arii from Athens, they changed their name; this is what they say of themselves. The armour of the Cissians generally resembled that of the Persians, except

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of Persepolis the quiver appears suspended across the left hip, and perhaps the large bow in a case with it, but no shield, and on their right side the short daggers (ἐγχειρίδια) suspended from a belt. May it be an unfounded conjecture, that the bas-reliefs at Persepolis relate to the expedition of Xerxes, which seems to be no otherwise recorded in the Persian history?

59 *Short spears.*]—The reader will find an excellent description of these military habits in Montfaucon; and by no means an inelegant or incorrect one in the Leonidas of our countryman Glover.—*T.*

* *Artæi.*]—These, says Rennel, might be the same with the Arteatæ just mentioned, and their country may be expressed by the Artacene of Ptolemy, and the Andistar of modern geography, a province situated to the N. E. of Ispahan, p. 286.

† With the Greeks, in the time of Herodotus, Median

except that instead of tiaræ they wore mitres: they were commanded by Anaphes, son of Otanes. The Hyrcani were also dressed like the Persians, and had for their leader Megapanus, who was afterward governor of Babylon.

LXIII. The Assyrian forces had brazen helmets of a barbarous form, and difficult to describe. Their shields, spears, and daggers, were like those of the Ægyptians; they had also large clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuirasses*. These people the Greeks call Syrians, the Barbarians Assyrians; mixt with these were the Chaldæans: the whole were under the conduct of Otaspes, son of Artachæus.

LXIV. The Bactrians, in what they wore on their heads, most resembled the Medes, but, after the custom of their country, they used bows made of reeds, and short spears. The Sacæ, who are a Scythian nation, had helmets terminating

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was applied generally to the united empire of Medes and Persians, as having from habit been applied to the power which held the sovereignty of Asia. This appears throughout his work. He says, moreover, that in ancient times, the Medes were universally termed Arii, which agrees with Strabo, for by him it appears as if the whole tract between Assyria and India had originally been called Asia by the Greeks.—Rennel, p. 272.

* Perhaps, says Rennel, these might be vests quilted with cotton, or some such substance, to resist the ordinary cut of a sabre; war-jackets—these are worn at present by the soldiery in the service of the petty princes of India.

nating in a point, and wore breeches. They were also armed in their country manner, with bows, daggers, and a hatchet called sagaris. This people, though really the Amyrgii of Scythia, were called Sacæ, the name given by the Persians indiscriminately to all Scythians. Hystaspes, son of Darius by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and the Sacæ.

LXV. The dress of the Indians was cotton: their bows were made of reeds*, as were also their arrows, which were pointed with iron: their leader was Pharnazathres, son of Artabates. The Arii had bows like the Medes, but were in other respects equipped like the Bactrians, and were under the command of Sisamnes son of Hydarnes.

LXVI. The Parthians[60], Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians†, and the Dadicæ, had the same armour as the Bactrians. The Parthians and

* By reeds, in this place, bamboos must certainly be intended.

[60] *Parthians, &c.*]—Various and numerous as these confederates of Xerxes are here described, Lucan, in a poetical hyperbole, affirms, that the allies of Pompey were still more so.—See *L.* iii. 285.—*T.*

† *Gandarians.*]—A mistake of the press at this place has misled my friend Major Rennel, and occasioned an elaborate note from Larcher in consequence. Vanity might, perhaps, induce me to rejoice in an error which has drawn forth so handsome a compliment from the learned Frenchman

and Chorasmians were led by Artabanus, son of Pharnaces; Azanes, son of Artæus, commanded the Sogdians; as did Artyphius, son of Artabanus, the Gardarians and Dadicæ.

LXVII. The Caspians wore a vest made of skins: they had the armour of their country, bows made of reeds, and cimetars. Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius conducted them. The Sarangæ * had beautiful habits of different and splendid colours: they had buskins reaching to their knees, bows and javelins like the Medes, and Pherendates, the son of Megabazus, commanded them. The Pactyes also had vests made of skins, bows and daggers after the manner of their country, and Artyntes son of Ithamatres was their leader.

LXVIII. The Utii, Myci, and Paricanii, were armed like the Pactyes. The Utii and Myci had

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man to the first edition of this work, of which I can only observe, I have corrected as many errors as I have been able to discover.—*T.*

* *The Sarangæ, or Sarangeans.*]—The dress of this people, says Rennel, characterizes them as rich, civilized, and industrious. They were the Energetæ of the Greeks. They are called by Arrian Agriaspæ; by Pliny Argetæ; by Ptolemy Ariaspæ. Diodorus tells us, that when Cyrus was on some expedition, in great distress, this people brought him 30,000 carriages laden with provisions. For this service, he bestowed various privileges upon them, and they were also exempted from paying tribute.—*T.*

had for their commander Arsamenes, son of Darius: Sirometris the son of Œobazus conducted the Paricanii.

LXIX. The Arabians wore large folding vests, which they call ziræ: their bows were long, flexible, and crooked. The Æthiopians were clad in skins of panthers and lions: their bows were of palm, and not less than four cubits long. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds, instead of iron they were pointed with a stone which they use to cut their seals. They had also spears armed with the horns of goats, shaped like the iron of a lance; and beside these, knotty clubs. It is the custom of this people, when they advance to combat, to daub one half of their body with gypsum, the other with vermilion. Arsanes son of Darius by Artystone a daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Arabians and the Æthiopians who came from beyond Ægypt. Of all his wives, Darius loved Artystone the most, and he constructed a golden statue in her honour.

LXX. Those Æthiopians who came from the more eastern parts of their country (for there were two distinct bodies in this expedition) served with the Indians. These differed from the former in nothing but their language and their hair. The Oriental Æthiopians have their hair straight, those of Africa have their hair more crisp and curling

curling than any other men. The armour of the Asiatic Æthiopians resembled that of the Indians, but on their heads they wore the skins of horses heads[61], on which the manes and ears were left. The manes served as the plumes, and the ears remained stiff and erect. Instead of shields they held out before them the skins of cranes.

LXXI. The Lybians were dressed in skins, and had the points of their spears hardened in the fire*. They were conducted by Massages, son of Oarizus.

LXXII. The Paphlagonians wore helmets made of net-work; they had small spears and bucklers, beside javelins and daggers. Agreeably to

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[61] *Horses heads.*]—These helmets were, according to the description of Cæsar in his Commentaries, very common among the ancient Germans.—*T.*

* See Statius, Theb. iv. c. 4.

Pars robora flammis
Indurata diu.

And Q. Curtius, iii. 2.

Invecta bello manus, fundis, credo et hastes igne duratis repelientur.—Virgil, Æn. vii. 523.

Non jam certamine agresti
Stipitibus duris agiter sudibusq præustis.

The savages of America use the same process for their spears at this day.—*T.*

to the fashion of their country, they had buskins which reached to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes, Matieni*, Maryandeni, and Syrians, were habited like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are by the Persians called Cappadocians. The general of the Paphlagonians and Matieni was Dotus, son of Megasidras. The Maryandeni, Ligyes, and Syrians, were led by Bryas, son of Darius and Artystone.

LXXIII. The armour of the Phrygians differed very little from that of the Paphlagonians. According to the Macedonians, the Phrygians, as long as they were their neighbours, and lived in Europe, were called Bryges; on passing over into Asia they took the name of Phrygians[62]. The Armenians are a colony of the Phrygians, and were armed like them. Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius, commanded both nations.

LXXIV. The Lydians were equipped very like the Greeks. They were once called Meonians;

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* These Matieni must have belonged to the Matiene of Cappadocia.

[62] *Phrygians.*]—Arrian tells us that the Phrygians were *reported* to be the oldest of mankind, λεγονται Φρυγες παλαιοτατοι ανθρωπων. Cited by Eust. in Com. in Dion. p. 809. The reader will remember that this was disputed with them by the Egyptians, but given up after the expedient used by Psammitichus.—*T.*

nians[63]; but they changed their ancient name, and took that of Lydus, the son of Atys. The Nysians wore the helmets of their country, had small shields, and javelins hardened in the fire. They are a colony of the Lydians, and named Olympians, from mount Olympus. These two nations were conducted by Artaphernes, son of that Artaphernes who in conjunction with Datis had invaded Marathon.

LXXV. The Thracians wore on their heads skins of foxes; the other part of their dress consisted of a tunic, below which was a large and folding robe of various colours: they had also buskins made of the skins of fawns, and were armed with javelins, small bucklers, and daggers. They were, as themselves relate, formerly called Strymonians, from inhabiting the banks of the Strymon; but passing over into Asia, were named Bithynians. They say they were expelled

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[63] *Meonians.*]—Bochart deduces this name from the Greek Μαιεσθαι, and their after-name Lydi from the Hebrew. But it does not seem probable that the oldest name should be taken from the Greek, and the latter from the Hebrew language. What is yet farther removed from consistency, he places a descendant of Shem in the lot of Japhet, and supposes the Lydians to be the children of Ludim. From him I presume they would have been called Lydimi, not Lydi.—See the invention of games imputed to this people, book i. c. 94.—*T.*

pelled their country by the Teucrians and the Mysians.

LXXVI. Bassaces, son of Artabanus, commanded the Thracians of Asia; these used short bucklers made of hides, and each of them carried two Lycian spears: they had also helmets of brass, on the summit of which were the ears and horns of an ox, made also of brass, together with a crest. On their legs they had purple buskins. This people have among them an oracle of Mars[64].

LXXVII. The Cabalian Meonians[65], who are also called Lasonians, were habited like the Cilicians, whom I shall describe in their proper order. The Milyæ carried short spears, their vests confined with clasps; some of them had Lycian bows, and they wore helmets of leather. Of all these, Badres, son of Hystanes, was commander. The

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[64] *Oracle of Mars.*]—It is thought by some, that here is something wanting; for the description which by the context seems here to be given of the Thracians, with truth will apply neither to the Thracians of Asia nor of Europe. Wesseling presumes that they may be the Chalybians, among whom was an oracle of Mars, and who were neighbours to the nations here described by Herodotus. Larcher also is of this opinion.

[65] *Cabalian Meonians.*]—These were probably the same people who are mentioned book iii. c. 90, the change of the *a* for *e* being agreeably to the Ionic dialect.

The Moschi had helmets of wood, small bucklers, and short spears with long iron points.

LXXVIII. The Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynœci, were in all respects habited like the Moschi. Ariomardus, son of Darius and of Parmys daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, commanded the Moschi and the Tibareni. Artayctes, son of Chorasmes, who was governor of Sestos on the Hellespont, conducted the Macrones and Mosynœci.

LXXIX. The Mares *, after the fashion of their country, had net-work casques, small leather bucklers, and spears. The Colchians had helmets of wood, small bucklers made of the hard hides of oxen, short spears, and swords. Pharandates, son of Teaspes, commanded the Mares and the Colchians. The Allarodii and Saspines were dressed like the Colchians, and led by Masistius, son of Siromitras.

LXXX. The people who came from the islands of the Red Sea †, to which those who labour

* There were several tribes of this name, if they were the same people with the Mardi, as probably they were. See Rennel, p. 283.

† Perhaps it would have been more correct to have called this

labour under the king's displeasure are exiled, were habited and armed like the Medes: they were led by Mardontes son of Bagæus, who two years afterward was slain at the battle of Mycale, where he commanded.

LXXXI. These were the nations who proceeded over the continent, and composed the infantry of the army. Their leaders who marshalled and numbered them, I have already specified: they appointed also the captains of thousands and ten thousands, who again chose the centurions and leaders of ten. The different forces and nations had also other officers, but those whom I have named were the principal commanders.

LXXXII. The generals in chief of all the infantry were Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Trintatæchmes, son of Artabanus, who had given his opinion against the Grecian war; and Smerdones, son of Otanes, which last two were sons of two brothers of Darius, the uncles of Xerxes. To the above may be added Masistes, son of Darius by Atossa; Gergis, son of Arinus; and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus[66].

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this the Erythrean, which comprehended the Persian Gulph. The islands of the ocean were too few to answer the description.—See Rennel, p. 291.

[66] *Zopyrus.*]—This was the famous Zopyrus through whose means Darius became master of Babylon.—See book iii. c. 160.

LXXXIII. These were the commanders of all the infantry, except of the ten thousand chosen Persians, who were led by Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes. These were called the immortal band, and for this reason, if any of them died in battle, or by any disease, his place was immediately supplied. They were thus never more nor less than ten thousand. The Persians surpassed all the rest of the army, not only in magnificence but valour. Their armour I have before described; they were also remarkable for the quantity of gold which adorned them: they had with them carriages for their women, and a vast number of attendants splendidly provided. They had also camels and beasts of burden to carry their provisions, beside those for the common occasions of the army.

LXXXIV. All the above nations are capable of serving on horseback; but on this expedition those only constituted the cavalry, which I shall enumerate. The Persian horse, except a small number, whose casques were ornamented with brass and iron, were habited like the infantry.

LXXXV. There appeared of the Sagartii a body of eight thousand horse. These people lead a pastoral life, were originally of Persian descent, and use the Persian language: their dress is something betwixt the Persian and the Pactyan; they have no offensive weapons, either of iron

iron or brass, except their daggers; their principal dependance in action is upon cords made of twisted leather, which they use in this manner: when they engage an enemy they throw out these cords, having a noose at the extremity; if they entangle[67] in them either horse or man, they without difficulty put them to death. —These forces were embodied with the Persians.

LXXXVI. The cavalry of the Medes, and also of the Cissians, are accoutred like their infantry. The Indian horse likewise were armed like their foot; but beside led horses they had chariots of war, drawn by horses and wild asses[68]. The

[67] *If they entangle.*]—A similar mode of fighting was practised by those of the Roman gladiators who were called the Retiarii: beneath their bucklers they carried a kind of net, which, when the opportunity presented itself, they threw over the head of their adversaries the Secutores, and, thus entangled, put them to death with a kind of trident which constituted their offensive weapon.—*T.*

See a full account of these gladiators in Gifford's Translation of Juvenal, Sat. 8.

[68] *Wild asses.*]—M. Larcher renders ονοι αγριοι, zebres, but I do not see that this necessarily follows. The zebra is certainly a species of wild ass; but I conceive that every wild ass is not a zebra. Buffon makes mention of wild asses very distinct from the zebræ. The French translator supports his opinion from the description of the ονος αγριος in Oppian, L. iii. v. 183; but this is by no means convincing to me.—*T.*

The zebras are spoken of very particularly in the first book of Xenophon's Anabasis, as being remarkably swift of

The armour of the Bactrian and Caspian horse and foot were alike. This was also the case with the Africans, only it is to be observed that these last all fought from chariots. The Paricanian horse were also equipped like their foot, as were the Arabians, all of whom had camels, by no means inferior to the horse in swiftness.

LXXXVII. These were the cavalry, who formed a body of eighty thousand, exclusive of camels and chariots. They were drawn up in regular order, and the Arabians were disposed in the rear, that the horses might not be terrified, as a horse cannot endure a camel[69].

LXXXVIII. Harmamithres and Tithæus, the sons of Datis, commanded the cavalry; they had shared this command with Pharnuches, but he had been left at Sardis indisposed. As the troops were marching from Sardis he met with an unfortunate accident: a dog ran under the feet of his

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foot, and very good eating. Colonel Malcolm and his party saw them in their journey across Persia, and represent them as exceedingly swift.

[69] *Cannot endure a camel.*]—It appears, on further examination, that the antipathy between the horse and the camel is imaginary. I understand that in the East horses and camels are often mixed in caravans. It will not escape the reader, that no mention is here made of elephants, nor does Herodotus appear to have known that this animal was common in India.—*T.*

his horse, which being terrified reared up and threw his rider. Pharnuches was in consequence seized with a vomiting of blood, which finally terminated in a consumption. His servants, in compliance with the orders of their master, led the horse to the place where the accident happened, and there cut off his legs at the knees. Thus was Pharnuches deprived of his command.

LXXXIX. The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven[70]; of these the Phœnicians, in conjunction with the Syrians of Palestine,

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[70] *Twelve hundred and seven.*]—I give the account of the Persian fleet as stated by Herodotus, that the reader may compare it with that which follows of Diodorus Siculus:

The Phœnician vessels were - - -	300
Ægyptians - - - - -	200
Cyprians - - - - -	150
Cilicians - - - - -	100
Pamphylians - - - - -	30
Lycians - - - - -	50
Dorians - - - - -	30
Carians - - - - -	70
Ionians - - - - -	100
Islanders - - - - -	17
Æolians - - - - -	60
People of the Hellespont - -	100
	1,207

lestine, furnished three hundred. They who served on board them had on their heads helmets nearly resembling those of the Greeks; they had breast-plates made of linen, bucklers without bosses, and javelins. This people, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea[71], but migrated from thence to the maritime

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According to Diodorus Siculus,

The Greeks had - - - - -	320
The Dorians - - - - -	40
Æolians - - - - -	40
Ionians - - - - -	100
Hellespontians - - - -	80
Islanders - - - - -	50
Ægyptians - - - - -	200
Phœnicians - - - - -	300
Cilicians - - - - -	80
Carians - - - - -	80
Pamphylians - - - - -	40
Lycians - - - - -	40
Cyprians - - - - -	150
	1,200

[71] *Coasts of the Red Sea.*]—There were Phœnicians of different countries: they were to be found upon the Sinus Persicus, upon the Sinus Arabicus, in Ægypt, in Crete, in Africa, in Epirus, and even in Attica.—See *Hesychius.* Φοινικες γενος τι Αθηνησι. There is a race of Phœnicians among the Athenians. In short, it was a title introduced at Sidon and the coast adjoining, by people from Ægypt; and who the people were that brought it, may be known from several passages in ancient history, but particularly from an extract in Eusebius.—See *Bryant*, vol. i. 324, 325.

maritime parts of Syria; all which district, as far as Ægypt, is denominated Palestine*. The Ægyptians furnished two hundred vessels: they wore on their heads casques made of net-work; their shields were of a convex form, having large bosses; their spears were calculated for sea-service, and they had huge battle-axes. Their forces in general had breast-plates, and large swords.

XC. The people of Cyprus supplied fifty vessels: as to their armour, their princes wore mitres on their heads; the troops wore tunics, but were in other respects habited like the Greeks. The Cyprians, according to their own account, are variously composed of the people of Salamis and Athens; some also came from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, others from Phœnicia, and others from Æthiopia.

XCI. From Cilicia came one hundred ships. This people had a kind of helmet peculiar to their country, and a small buckler made of the untanned hide of an ox; they had also tunics of wool:

* Thus it appears, says Rennel, that Herodotus discriminated Phœnicia and Palestine from Syria at large; and that the name by which he denominates Palestine, is usually Syria of Palestine.—p. 243.

wool: each of them had two spears, and a sword not unlike those of Ægypt. Formerly they were called Hypachæans: they were named Cilicians from Cilex the Phœnician, the son of Agenor. The Pamphylians brought thirty ships, and were accoutred like the Greeks: they are descended from those who after the destruction of Troy were dispersed under Amphilochus and Calchas[72].

XCII. Fifty ships were furnished by the Lycians, who were defended with breast-plates and a kind of buskin: beside their spears, they had bows made of cornel wood; their arrows were of reeds, but not feathered. From their shoulders the skin of a goat was suspended, and on their heads they wore a cap with a plume of feathers: they had also axes and daggers. They are descended

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[72] *Calchas.*]—With the name of Calchas every one is acquainted; but few perhaps know the end he met with. Mopsus, son of Marto and Apollo, had at the death of his mother, by right of inheritance, the oracle of Apollo at Claros. About this period Calchas, who after the taking of Troy led a wandering life, arrived at Colophon. The two seers maintained a long and obstinate dispute, till at length Amphimachus king of Lycia terminated their difference. Mopsus dissuaded him from going to war, foretelling that he would be defeated; Calchas, on the contrary, advised him to go, assuring him he would prove victorious. Amphimachus having been overcome, Mopsus received greater honours than ever, and Calchas put himself to death.—*Larcher.*

scended from the Cretans, and were once called Termilæ; afterward they took the name of Lycians, from Lycus an Athenian, the son of Pandion.

XCIII. The Dorians of Asia came in thirty vessels: these being originally from the Peloponnese, were provided with Grecian arms. The Carians had seventy ships, and were equipped in every respect like the Greeks, with the addition of axes and daggers. We have in a former place made mention of the name, by which they were originally known.

XCIV. The Ionians, armed like the Greeks, appeared with a fleet of one hundred ships. According to the Grecian account, this people, when they inhabited that part of the Peloponnese called Achaia, before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus, were called the Pelasgian Ægialians. They were afterward named Ionians, from Ion son of Xuthus.

XCV. The islanders[73], in Grecian armour, were

[73] *The islanders.*]—These Ionian islanders could not be either those of Chios or of Samos. These assembled at the Panionium, and were a part of the twelve cities, which these islanders were not. Diodorus Siculus adds also the inhabitants of Chios and of Samos to the Ionians, and makes,

were in seventeen vessels. These, once Pelasgian, were ultimately termed Ionian, for the same reason as the twelve Ionian cities founded by the Athenians. The Æolians brought sixty ships, and were armed in the Grecian manner: these also, according to the Greeks, were once Pelasgi. The inhabitants of the Hellespont, those of Abydos excepted, in conjunction with the people of Pontus, furnished one hundred vessels: those of Abydos, by the command of the king, remained to defend the bridges. The Hellespontians, being a mixt colony of Ionians and Dorians, were armed like the Greeks.

XCVI. In each of these vessels were detachments of Medes, Persians, and Sacæ. The best mariners were the Phœnicians, and of the people of Phœnicia, the Sidonians. The sea and land forces of all these nations, were under the immediate command of their own officers. The mention of their particular names, as it is not essential

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like Herodotus, a distinction betwixt them and the islanders. But who then were they? Diodorus Siculus informs us. The king, says he, was joined by all those islands betwixt the Cyaneæ and the promontories of Triopium and Surium. Thus it appears that they were the isles of Ceos, or Cea, as the Latins have it, Naxos, Sephros, Seriphos, Andros, and Tenos, which were Tienian, and founded by the Athenians, as appears from Herodotus, book viii. chap. 46, 48; and from Thucydides, book vii. c. 57, where it should be read Τηνιοι and not Τηιοι.—*Valcnaer.*

essential to my purpose, I shall omit. It would indeed prove an uninteresting labour, as every city had its own commander, who without any great distinction or authority, merely helped to swell the mass of the army. Those who had the principal conduct of the war, I have already enumerated, as well as the Persian officers to whom the command of each nation was assigned.

XCVII. The commanders in chief of the sea forces were *, Ariabignes, son of Darius, Prexaspes,

* The religious scruples which prevented the Persians from making any voyages by sea, were known to the ancients. Pliny relates of one of the Magi, who was sent on an embassy from Tiridates to the Emperor Nero: "Navigare noluerat, quoniam exspuere in Maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam, fas non putant." Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. c. 6. This aversion to the sea they carried so far, that, according to the observation of a well-informed historian, there was not a city of any note in their empire built upon the sea-coast. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiii. c. 6. We learn from Dr. Hyde, how intimately these ideas were connected with the doctrines of Zoroaster. Rel. Vet. Pers. cap. vi. In all the wars of the Persians with Greece, the fleets of the Great King consisted entirely of ships furnished by the Phœnicians, Syrians, the conquered provinces of the Lesser Asia, and the islands adjacent. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus mention the quota furnished by each country, in order to compose the fleet of twelve hundred ships, with which Xerxes invaded Greece; and among these, there is not one belonging to Persia. At the same time it is proper to observe, that, according to Herodotus, whose authority is unexceptionable

aspes, son of Aspathines, and Megabyzus, son of Megabates, together with Achæmenes, another son of Darius: of these, Ariabignes, son of Darius, by a daughter of Gobryas, had the conduct of the Ionian and Carian fleets. The Ægyptians were commanded by Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, both on the father and mother's side. The two other generals conducted the rest of the fleet to the amount of three thousand vessels, which were composed of vessels of thirty and fifty oars, of Cercuri[74], and of long transports for the cavalry.

XCVIII. After the generals, the more distinguished officers of the fleet were the Sidonian Tetramnestus, son of Anysus; Martes of Tyre, son of Siromus; Nerbalus the Arabian, son of Agbalus;

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unexceptionable with regard to this point, Ariabignes, a son of Darius, acted as admiral of the Persian fleet, and had several satraps of high rank under his command; and both Persians and Medes served as soldiers on board of it. Herod. lib. vii. c. 96, 97. By what motives, or what authority they were induced to act in this manner, I cannot explain. From some religious scruples similar to those of the Persians, many of the natives of Indostan, in our own time, refuse to embark on board a ship, and to serve at sea; and yet, on some occasions, the Sepoys in the service of the European powers, have got the better of these scruples.—Robertson on Ancient India, 352.

[74] *Cercuri.*]—These, according to Pliny, were a particular kind of vessel, invented by the Cyprians.

Agbalus; the Cilician Syennesis, son of Oromedon; and Cyberniscus, the son of Sicas. To these may be added Gortes, son of Chersis, and Timonax, son of Timagoras, both of them Cyprians, with the three Carian leaders, Histiæus, son of Tymnis, Pigres, son of Seldomus, and Damasithymus, son of Candaules.

XCIX. The other leaders I forbear to specify, it not appearing necessary; but it is impossible not to speak, and with admiration, of Artemisia[75], who, though a female, served in this Grecian

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[75] *Artemisia.*]—There were two of this name, both natives, and queens of Caria, from which circumstance they have by different writers been frequently confounded. Pliny, Hardouin, and Scaliger have been guilty of this error, and have ascribed to the first what is true only of the last.—See *Bayle*, article Artemisia. Nothing can however be more clear and satisfactory, than that the Artemisia who accompanied Xerxes was the daughter of Lygdamis. The Artemisia whose mausoleum in honour of her husband's memory has rendered her so illustrious, was the daughter of Hecatemnes, and lived at a much later period. The daughter of Lygdamis, of whom it is our business to speak, was certainly a great and illustrious character. Her wisdom is very conspicuous, from the excellent advice which she gave Xerxes; and her valour was eminently distinguished, above that of all the men, in the battle of Salamis. See in a subsequent paragraph the speech of Xerxes concerning her, which has been imitated by Justin: "Artemisia queen of Halicarnassus, who joined her forces with Xerxes, appeared amongst the forwardest commanders in the hottest engagements; and as on

Grecian expedition. On the death of her husband she enjoyed the supreme authority, for her son was not yet grown up, and her great spirit and vigour of mind alone induced her to exert herself on this occasion. She was the daughter of Lygdamis, by her father's side of Halicarnassus, by her mother of Cretan descent. She had the conduct of those of Halicarnassus, Cos, Nisyros, and Calydne. She furnished five ships, which next to those of the Sidonians, were the best in the fleet. She was also distinguished among all the allies for the salutary counsels which she gave the king. The people I have recited as subject to Artemisia, were I believe all of them Dorians. The Halicarnassians were originally of Trœzene, the rest of Epidaurus. —Such were the maritime forces.

C. Xerxes having ranged and numbered his armament, was desirous to take a survey of them all. Mounted in his car, he examined each nation in their turn. To all of them he proposed certain questions, the replies to which were noted down

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on the man's side there was an effeminate cowardice, on the woman's was observed a masculine courage."

She is honourably mentioned by a variety of writers, but at length fell a victim to the tender passion. She was violently in love with a native of Abydos, named Dardanus; to rid herself of which she took the celebrated lover's leap from the promontory Leucas, and perished.—*T.*

down by his secretaries. In this manner he proceeded from first to last through all the ranks[76], both of horse and foot. When this was done, the fleet also was pushed off from land, whilst the

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[76] *Through all the ranks.*]—The procession of Xerxes in his car through the ranks of his army is well described by Glover in his Leonidas, and seems to afford a fine subject for an historical painting.

> The monarch will'd, and suddenly he heard
> His trampling horses—High on silver wheels
> The iv'ry car with azure sapphires shone,
> Cærulean beryls, and the jasper green,
> The emerald, the ruby's glowing blush,
> The flaming topaz, with its golden beam,
> The pearl, th' empurpled amethyst, and all
> The various gems which India's mines afford,
> To deck the pomp of kings. In burnish'd gold
> A sculptur'd eagle from behind display'd
> His stately neck, and o'er the royal head
> Outstretch'd his dazzling wings. Eight generous steeds,
> Which on the fam'd Nisæan plain were nurs'd,
> In wintry Media, drew the radiant car.
> —— At the signal bound
> Th' attentive steeds, the chariot flies; behind
> Ten thousand horse in thunder sweep the field—
> He now draws nigh. Th' innumerable host
> Roll back by nations, and admit their lord
> With all his satraps. As from crystal domes
> Built underneath an arch of pendent seas,
> When that stern power whose trident rules the floods,
> With each cærulean deity ascends
> Thron'd in his pearly chariot—all the deep
> Divides its bosom to th' emerging god,
> So Xerxes rode between the Asian world,
> On either side receding. *Leonidas.*

the monarch, exchanging his chariot for a Sidonian vessel, on the deck of which he sat beneath a golden canopy, passed slowly the heads of the ships, proposing in like manner questions to each, and noting down the answers. The commanders had severally moored their vessels at about four plethra from shore, in one uniform line, with their sterns out to sea, and their crews under arms, as if prepared for battle. Xerxes viewed them, passing betwixt their prows and the shore.

CI. When he had finished his survey, he went on shore; and sending for Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who accompanied him in this expedition against Greece, he thus addressed him: "From "you, Demaratus, who are a Greek, and, as I "understand, from yourself and others, of no "mean or contemptible city, I am desirous of "obtaining information: do you think that the "Greeks will presume to make any resistance "against me? For my own part, not to mention "their want of unanimity, I cannot think that "all the Greeks, joined to all the inhabitants "of the west, would be able to withstand my "power: what is your opinion on this subject?" "Sir," said Demaratus, in reply, "shall I say "what is true, or only what is agreeable[77]?" Xerxes

[77] *Or only what is agreeable.*]—This naturally brings to mind the old proverb in the Andria of Terence:

Xerxes commanded him to speak the truth, assuring him that he would be as agreeable to him as ever.

CII. "Since," answered Demaratus, "you "command me to speak the truth, it shall be my "care to deliver myself in such a manner that no "one hereafter, speaking as I do, shall be con- "victed of falshood. Greece has ever been the "child of poverty; for its virtue it is indebted "to the severe wisdom and discipline, by which it "has tempered its poverty, and repelled its op- "pressors.

Obsequium amicos veritas odium parit.

Which expression Cicero, in his Treatise de Amicitia, reprobates with proper dignity.

See also the following lines, quoted in Athenæus, from Agatho:

Ει μεν φρασω τάληθες ουχ σ' ένφρανῶ
Ει δε ενφρανῶ τι σ' ουχι ταληθες φρασω.

That is, in English, If I speak the truth I shall not please you; if I please you I shall not speak the truth.

If, as appears from Xenophon in particular, and from various other writers, that to speak the truth constituted an indispensable part of Persian education, these words of Demaratus must have appeared an insult to Xerxes, not to be justified by any affected humility, or any real difference of rank. What Homer thought on this subject may be gathered from the two noble lines which he puts into the mouth of Achilles:

Who dares think one thing and another tell,
My soul detests him as the gates of hell. *T.*

" pressors. To this praise all the Dorian Greeks " are entitled; but I shall now speak of the " Lacedæmonians only. You may depend upon " it that your propositions, which threaten " Greece with servitude, will be rejected; and if " all the other Greeks side with you against " them, the Lacedæmonians will engage you " in battle. Make no inquiries as to their num- " ber, for if they shall have but a thousand men, " or even fewer, they will fight you [78]."

CIII. " What, Demaratus," answered Xerxes, smiling, " think you that a thousand men will " engage so vast a host? Tell me, you who, as " you say, have been their prince, would you " now willingly engage with ten opponents? If " your countrymen be what you describe them, " according to your own principles you, who are " their

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[78] *Will fight you.*]—In close imitation of the passage before us, the author of Leonidas makes Xerxes thus address Demaratus:

> Now declare
> If yonder Grecians will oppose their march.
> To him the exile: Deem not, mighty lord,
> I will deceive thy goodness by a tale,
> To give them glory who degraded mine;
> Nor be the king offended while I use
> The voice of truth—the Spartans never fly.
> Contemptuous smil'd the monarch, and resum'd,
> Wilt thou, in Lacedæmon once supreme,
> Encounter twenty Persians?

" their prince, should be equal to two of them.
" If, therefore, one of them be able to contend
" with ten of my soldiers, you may be reasonably
" expected to contend with twenty: such ought
" to be the test of your assertions. But if your
" countrymen really resemble in form and size
" you, and such other Greeks as appear in my
" presence, it should seem that what you say is
" dictated by pride and insolence; for how can
" it be shewn that a thousand, or ten thousand,
" or even fifty thousand men, all equally free,
" and not subject to the will of an individual,
" could oppose so great an army? Granting
" them to have five thousand men, we have still
" a majority of a thousand to one; they who
" like us are under the command of one person,
" from the fear of their leader, and under the
" immediate impression of the lash, are animated
" with a spirit contrary to their nature, and are
" made to attack a number greater than their
" own; but they who are urged by no constraint
" will not do this. If these Greeks were even
" equal to us in number, I cannot think they
" would dare to encounter Persians. The virtue
" to which you allude, is to be found among
" ourselves, though the examples are certainly
" not numerous; there are of my Persian guards
" men who will singly contend with three

" Greeks[79]. The preposterous language which " you use can only, therefore, proceed from " your ignorance."

CIV. " I knew, my lord, from the first," returned Demaratus, " that by speaking truth I " should offend you. I was induced to give you " this representation of the Spartans, from your " urging me to speak without reserve. You may " judge, sir, what my attachment must be to " those who, not content with depriving me of " my paternal dignities, drove me ignominiously " into exile. Your father received, protected, " and supported me[80]: no prudent man will " treat with ingratitude the kindness of his be- " nefactor. I will never presume to engage in " fight

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[79] *With three Greeks.*]—This vain boast of Xerxes was in the end punished by Polydamas. Darius, natural son of Artaxerxes, and who by the favour of the Persians succeeded to the throne, had heard of his remarkable exploits; having by promises allured him to Susa, Polydamas challenged three of those whom the Persians call the immortal, encountered them all at once, and slew them.—*Larcher.*

[80] *Protected and supported me.*]—That prince gave him the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, which Eurysthenes and Procles, descendants of Demaratus, enjoyed in the 95th Olympiad, who joined themselves to Thimbron the Lacedæmonian general, when he passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher.*

" fight with ten men, nor even with two, nor
" indeed willingly with one; but if necessity
" demanded, or danger provoked me, I would
" not hesitate to fight with any one of those, who
" is said to be a match for three Greeks. The
" Lacedæmonians, when they engage in single
" combat, are certainly not inferior to other men,
" but in a body they are not to be equalled. Al-
" though free, they are not so without some reserve;
" the law is their superior[81], of which they stand
" in

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[81] *The law is their superior.*]—Thomson, in his Poem to Liberty, gives this just and animated description of Sparta:

Spread on Eurota's bank,
Amid a circle of soft-rising hills,
The patient Sparta stood, the sober, hard,
And man-subduing city, which no shape
Of pain could conquer, nor of pleasure charm.
Lycurgus there built, on the solid base
Of equal life, so well a temper'd state,
Where mix'd each government in each just poise,
Each power so checking and supporting each,
That firm for ages and unmov'd it stood,
The fort of Greece, without one giddy hour,
One shock of faction, or of party rage:
For, drain'd the springs of wealth, corruption there
Lay wither'd at the root. Thrice happy land,
Had not neglected art with weedy vice
Confounded sunk: but if Athenian arts
Lov'd not the soil, yet then the calm abode
Of wisdom, virtue, philosophic ease,
Of manly sense, and wit in frugal phrase,
Confin'd and press'd into laconic force;

" in greater awe than your subjects do of you: " they are obedient to what it commands[82], and " it commands them always not to fly from the " field of battle, whatever may be the number " of their adversaries. It is their duty to pre- " serve their ranks, to conquer or to die[83]. If " what I say seem to you absurd, I am willing in " future to be silent. I have spoken what I " think, because the king commanded me, to " whom may all he desires be accomplished."

There too, by rooting thence still treach'rous self,
The public and the private grew the same;
The children of the nursing public all,
And at its table fed: for that they toil'd,
For that they liv'd entire, and ev'n for that
The tender mother urg'd her son to die.

Liberty, part ii. 108, &c.

Dr. Johnson says truly of this poem, that none of Thomson's works have been so little regarded: I may, nevertheless, venture to promise whoever has not perused it, that it will very well pay his attention.—*T.*

[82] *What it commands.*]—" With the Lacedæmonians," says Plato, " the law is the king and master: and men are not the tyrants of the laws." " The Deity," says he, in another place, " is the law of wise and moderate men; pleasure that of men who are foolish and intemperate."—*Larcher.*

[83] *Conquer or to die.*]—

O conceive not, prince,
That Spartans want an object where to fix
Their eyes in reverence, in obedient dread.
To them more awful than the name of king
To Asia's trembling millions, is the law,
Whose sacred voice enjoins them to confront
Unnumber'd foes, to vanquish or to die.—*Leonidas.*

CV. Xerxes smiled at these words of Demaratus, whom he dismissed without anger, civilly from his presence. After the above conference, he removed from Doriscus the governor who had been placed there by Darius, and promoted in his room Mascamis, son of Megadostis. He then passed through Thrace with his army, toward Greece.

CVI. To this Mascamis, as to the bravest of all the governors appointed either by himself or by Darius, Xerxes sent presents every year, and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, continued to do the same to his descendants. Before this expedition against Greece, there had constantly been governors both in Thrace and the Hellespont, all of whom, except Mascamis, the Greeks afterward expelled: he alone retained Doriscus in his subjection, in defiance of the many and repeated exertions made to remove him. It was in remembrance of these services, that he and all his descendants received presents from the kings of Persia.

CVII. The only one of all those expelled by the Greeks, who enjoyed the good opinion of Xerxes, was Boges[84], the governor of Eïon; he

[84] *Boges.*]—This proper name is by Pausanias written Boes.

he always mentioned this man in terms of esteem, and all his descendants were honourably regarded in Persia. Boges was not undeserving his great reputation: when he was besieged by the Athenians, under the conduct of Cimon, son of Miltiades, he might, if he had thought proper, have retired into Asia; this he refused, and defended himself to the last extremity, from apprehensions that the king might ascribe his conduct to fear. When no provisions were left, he caused a large pile to be raised; he then slew his children, his wife, his concubines, and all his family, and threw them into the fire; he next cast all the gold and silver of the place from the walls into the Strymon; lastly, he leaped himself into the flames. This man is, therefore, very deservedly extolled by the Persians.

CVIII. Xerxes, in his progress from Doriscus to Greece, compelled all the people among whom he came to join his army. All this tract of country, as far as Thessaly, as I have before remarked, had been made tributary to the king, first by Megabyzus, and finally by Mardonius. Leaving Doriscus, he first passed beyond the Samothracian forts, the last of which, toward the

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Boes. The expedition of Cimon is mentioned by Thucydides, Æschines, and others.—This Cimon was the grandson of the Cimon spoken of in Livy, book vi. chap. 34, 39.

the west, is called Mesambria; contiguous to this is Stryme, a Thasian town. The river Lissus waters both these towns, the streams of which, on the present occasion, were insufficient for the army. This district was once called Galaïce, now Briantica, and properly belonged to the Ciconians.

CIX. Xerxes having passed the exhausted bed of the Lissus, continued his march beyond the Grecian cities of Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera[85]; he passed along the following lakes in the vicinity of these towns: the Ismaris, betwixt Maronea and Stryma, the Bistonis in the neighbourhood of Dicæa, which is filled by the two streams of the Trauus and Compsatus. Near Abdera is no lake of importance; but the king passed

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[85] *Abdera.*]—See note to chapter 168 of book the first; I there observed that Abdera produced many illustrious characters, yet it is thus stigmatized by Juvenal in his tenth Satire. Speaking of Democritus, he says, he was one

> ——— cujus prudentia monstrat
> Summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
> *Vervecum in patria*, crassoque sub aere nasci.

Which lines are thus translated by Gifford; Dryden's version is very faulty:

> Yes, in those times, in every varied scéne,
> The good old man found matter for his spleen:
> A wond'rous sage! whose story makes it clear,
> That men may rise in folly's atmosphere;
> Beneath Bœotian fogs, of soul sublime,
> And great examples to the coming time,

passed near the Nestus, which empties itself into the ocean. He proceeded onward through the more midland cities, in one of which is a lake almost of thirty stadia in circumference, full of fish, but remarkably salt: the waters of this proved only sufficient for the beasts of burthen. The name of the city is Pistirus *. These Grecian and maritime cities were to the left of Xerxes as he passed them.

CX. The nations of Thrace, through which he marched are these: the Pæti, Ciconians, Bistones, Sapæi, Dersæi, Edonians, and the Satræ. The inhabitants of the maritime towns followed by sea; those inland, which I have already specified, were, except the Satræ, compelled to accompany [86] the army by land.

CXI. The Satræ, as far as I know, never were subdued; they alone, of all the Thracians, have continued to my memory, an independent nation. They are remarkable for their valour. They inhabit

* Larcher is of opinion, that the word has been altered by copyists, and that we should read Topiris.—See his Table Geographique.

[86] *Compelled to accompany.*]—Thus we find were these nations compelled to serve under Cyrus, who were betwixt him and Crœsus, not as associates, but as prisoners of war. Many of them were reduced from being horsemen to serve on foot, and in a way, says Xenophon, which Cyrus accounted as in the highest degree servile, as slingers.—*T.*

habit lofty mountains covered with snow, but abounding in all kinds of trees: upon the summit of one of their highest hills, they have an oracle of Bacchus *. The interpreters of these divine oracles are the Bessi [87]: a priestess makes the responses, as at Delphi, and with the same ambiguity.

CXII. Xerxes continued to advance, and passed by two Pierian cities, one called Phagra, the other Pergamos; to his right he left the mountain Pangæus, which is of great extent and height, and has mines both of gold and silver; these are worked by the Pierians and Odomanti, and particularly by the Satræ.

CXIII. Beyond Pangæus, to the north, are the Pæonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoples. Xerxes passed all these, keeping a westward direction, till he came to the river Strymon, and the city of Eïon: Boges, the governor of this last place, whom we have before mentioned, was then living. The country round Pangæus is called

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* Macrobius makes mention of this oracle, and tells us that the priest, before he delivered the sentiments of the God, drank a large quantity of wine; they must of course have been pure and perspicuous.—*T.*

[87] *Bessi.*]—Ovid makes mention of these Bessi in no very flattering terms:

Vivere quam miserum est inter Bessosque Getasque.—*T.*

called Phillis, it extends to the west as far as the Angitis, which empties itself into the Strymon; to the south it continues till it meets the Strymon. To this river the magi offered a sacrifice of white horses [88].

CXIV. After performing these and many other religious rites to the Strymon, they proceeded through the Edonian district of the Nine Ways, to where they found bridges thrown over the Strymon: when they heard that this place was named

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[88] *Sacrifice of white horses.*]—The particular manner in which they performed these sacrifices, Strabo thus describes:

When the Persians come to a lake, a river, or a fountain, they sink a pit, and kill the victim, taking particular care that the pure water in the vicinity be not stained with blood, which would contaminate it. They then place the flesh of the victim upon branches of myrtle or laurel, and burn it with small sticks: during this they chaunt hymns, and offer libations of oil mixed with milk and honey, which they pour not into the fire, but upon the ground. Their hymns are very long, and whilst they are singing them they hold in their hands a bundle of short pieces of briar.

To which may be added the following particulars:

When the Persians sacrificed they wore garlands, which we learn from the first book of Herodotus, and the third book of the Cyropædia of Xenophon. They sometimes burnt all, and sometimes only part of the victim, feasting on the remainder. In the 16th chapter of Leviticus, the English reader may find a general similitude to the Persian mode of sacrifice, and indeed to that of all the Oriental nations. See also on this subject the second Dissertation of Hutchinson, prefixed to his Cyropædia. And compare 2d chap. Samuel i. v. 13, et seq.—*T.*

*

named the Nine Ways, they buried there alive nine youths* and as many virgins, natives of the country. This custom of burying alive is common in Persia; and I have been informed that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she was of an advanced age, commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth to be interred alive in honour of that deity, who, as they suppose, exists under the earth.

CXV. Marching still forward, they left on the shore, to the west, a Grecian city called Argilus; this, as well as the country beyond it, is callsd Bisaltia: leaving then to the left the gulph, which is near the temple of Neptune, they crossed the plain called Sileum, and passing the Greek city of Stagirus, came to Acanthus. The people of all these places, of mount Pangæus, together with those whom we have enumerated, they carried along with them: they who dwelt on the coast went by sea; they who lived distant from the sea, went by land. The line of country through which Xerxes led his army, is to the present day held in such extreme veneration by the Thracians, that they never disturb or cultivate it.

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* See Plutarch's Tract on Superstition, where it is affirmed that on this occasion twelve men were buried alive. It was a common practice in Persia.

CXVI. On his arrival at Acanthos, the Persian monarch interchanged the rites of hospitality with the people, and presented each with a Median vest[89]: he was prompted to this conduct by the particular zeal which they discovered toward the war, and from their having completed the work of the canal.

CXVII. Whilst Xerxes still continued at Acanthos, Artachæes, who had superintended the works of the canals, died; he was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, in great favour with the king, and the tallest of all the Persians; he wanted but four fingers of five royal cubits[90], and was also remarkable for his great strength of voice. The king was much afflicted at his loss, and buried him with great magnificence, the whole army being employed in erecting a monument to his memory. The Acanthians, in compliance with an oracle, invoke him by name, and pay him the honours of a hero. Xerxes always considered the death of Artachæes as a great calamity.

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[89] *Median vest.*]—This was invented by Semiramis, the wife of Ninus; it was so very graceful, that the Medes adopted it after they had conquered Asia; the Persians followed their example.—*Larcher.*

[90] *Five royal cubits.*]—Supposing our author to mean here the Babylonian measure, this, according to the computation of d'Anville, would be seven feet eight inches high, or somewhat more than eight feet of our measure.

CXVIII. Those Greeks who entertained the Persian army, and provided a banquet for the king, were reduced to extreme misery, and compelled to abandon their country. On account of their cities, distributed along the continent, the Thasians also feasted Xerxes and his forces: Antipater, the son of Orgis, a man of great reputation, was selected by his countrymen to preside on the occasion; by his account it appeared, that four hundred talents of silver were expended for this purpose.

CXIX. No less expense devolved upon the other cities, as appeared by the accounts delivered in by the different magistrates. As a long previous notice was given, preparations were made with suitable industry and magnificence. As soon as the royal will was made known by the heralds, the inhabitants of the several cities divided the corn which they possessed, and employed many months in reducing it to meal and flour. Some there were, who purchased at a great price the finest cattle they could procure, for the purpose of fattening them: others, with the same view of entertaining the army, provided birds both of the land and the water, which they preserved in cages and in ponds. Many employed themselves in making cups and goblets of gold and silver, with other utensils of the table: these last-mentioned articles were intended only for the king

king himself, and his more immediate attendants; with respect to the army in general, it was thought sufficient to furnish them with provision. On the approach of the main body, a pavilion was erected, and properly prepared for the residence of the monarch, the rest of the troops remained in the open air. From the commencement of the feast to its conclusion, the fatigue of those who provided it is hardly to be expressed. The guests, after satisfying their appetite, passed the night on the place; the next morning, after tearing up the pavilion, and plundering its contents, they departed, without leaving any thing behind them.

CXX. Upon this occasion the witty remark of Megacreon of Abdera, has been handed down to posterity. He advised the Abderites of both sexes to go in procession to their temples, and there, in the attitude of supplicants, entreat the gods to continue in future to avert from them the half of their calamities. With respect to the past, he thought their gratitude was due to heaven, because Xerxes did not take two repasts in a day. If the Abderites, he observed, had been required to furnish a dinner as well as a supper, they must either have prevented the visit of the king by flight, or have been the most miserable of human beings.

CXXI. These people, severe as was the burden,

den, fulfilled what had been enjoined them. From Acanthus, Xerxes dismissed the commanders of his fleet, requiring them to wait his orders at Therma. Therma is situated near the Thermean gulph, to which it gives its name. He had been taught to suppose this the most convenient road; by the command of Xerxes, the army had marched from Doriscus to Acanthus, in three separate bodies: one went by the sea-coast, moving with the fleet, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; a second proceeded through the midst of the continent, under the conduct of Tritantæchmes and Gergis; betwixt these went the third detachment, with whom was Xerxes himself, and who were led by Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

CXXII. As soon as the royal mandate was issued, the navy entered the canal which had been cut at mount Athos, and which was continued to the gulph, contiguous to which are the cities of Assa, Pidorus, Singus, and Sarga. Taking on board a supply of troops from these places, the fleet advanced toward the Thermæan gulph, and doubling the Toronean promontory of Ampelos, passed by the following Grecian towns, from which also they took reinforcements of vessels and of men—Torona, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus*. All the above district is now named Sithonia.

Olynthus.]—This city was totally destroyed by Philip of Macedon

CXXIII. From the promontory of Ampelos, they proceeded by a short cut to the Canastrean cape, the point, which of all the district of Pallene, projects farthest into the sea; here they took with them other supplies of men and ships, from Potidæa, Aphytus, Neapolis, Ægа, Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana. These cities are situated in the region now called Pallene, known formerly by the name of Phlegra. Coasting onward to the station appointed, they supplied themselves with troops from the cities in the vicinity of Pallene, and the Thermæan gulph. The names of these, situated in what is now called the Cnossean region, are Lipaxus, Combrea, Lissæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila and Ænea. From this last place, beyond which I shall forbear to specify the names of cities, the fleet went in a straight direction to the Thermean gulph, and the coast of Mygdonia; it ultimately arrived at Therma, the place appointed, as also at Sindus and Chalestra, on the river Axius, which separates Mygdonia from Bottiæis. In a narrow neck of this region, leading to the sea, are found the cities of Ichnæ and Pella.

CXXIV. The naval forces stationed themselves near the river Axium, the town of Therma, and the other neighbouring cities, where they waited

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Macedon, nor does it appear that it was ever afterward restored.

waited for the king. Directing his march this way, Xerxes, with all his forces, left Acanthus, and proceeded over the continent through Pæonia and Crestonia, near the river Chidorus, which, taking its rise in Crestonia, flows through Mygdonia, and empties itself into a marsh above the river Axium.

CXXV. In the course of this march, the camels, which carried the provisions, were attacked by lions: in the darkness of the night they left their accustomed abode, and without molesting man or beast, fell upon the camels only[91]. That the lions should attack the camels alone,

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[91] *The camels only.*]—" Herodotus," says Bellanger, in a note upon this passage, " was no great naturalist. The Arabians, and all those who inhabit the countries where are lions and camels, very well know that the lion loves the flesh of the camel."—*See Ælian, History of Animals*, book xvii. chap. 36.

Herodotus, it must be confessed, was not remarkably well versed in natural history; but if he had, it must always have appeared surprising to him, that lions, who had never before seen camels, or tasted their flesh, should attack them in preference to other beasts of burthen. That in Arabia lions should prefer a camel to a horse, may seem natural enough; they know by experience the flesh of these two animals, and that of the camel is doubtless more to their taste: but what could have given them this knowledge in Macedonia? I confess that this would have appeared no less marvellous to me than to Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

alone, animals they had never been known before to devour, or even by mistake to have seen, is a fact which I relate with surprise, and am totally unable to explain.

With respect to the lion, many preposterous errors anciently prevailed, which modern improvements and researches in natural history have corrected and improved; nevertheless the fact here recorded by Herodotus must ever appear marvellous. It seems in the first place, that the region of Europe in which he has fixed these lions is too cold for producing those animals, and according to every testimony it was then colder than at present.

It is now well known that the lion, however urged by hunger, does not attack its prey boldly and in an open manner, but insidiously: as the camels therefore were certainly on this occasion accompanied by a multitude, it is not easy to conceive how they could well be exposed to the attacks of the lions. In the next place it is not likely that the lions should be allured to the camels by their smell, for it is now very well ascertained that the lion has by no means an acute sense of smelling. With respect to the taste of the lion, it is said that having once tasted human blood it prefers it to all other food. Of the tiger, which is only a different species of the same genus with the lion, both being feles, it is said, but I know not from what accuracy of experiment or observation, that it prefers the flesh of an African to that of an European, the European to the American; but the assertion may be reasonably disputed.—*T.*

The following extract however from Barrow, and indeed other information which I have received, seems to make it certain that the lion does actually prefer the flesh of the Black to any other food.

It seems to be a fact well established, that the lion prefers the flesh of a Hottentot to that of any other creature. He has frequently been singled out from a party of Dutch.—The horse, next to the Hottentot, seems to be his favourite food,

CXXVI. These places abound with lions and wild bulls, the large horns of which are carried to Greece. On the one side the Nestus, which flows through Abdera, and on the other the Achelous, passing through Acarnania, are the limits beyond which no lions are found [92]. In the intermediate region betwixt these two places, lions are produced: but no one has ever seen them in Europe, beyond the Nestus to the east, or beyond the Achelous to the west.

CXXVII. On his arrival at Therma, Xerxes halted with his army, which occupied the whole of the coast from Therma and Mygdonia*, as far as the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which forming

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food, but on the sheep, perhaps on account of his woolly covering, which he is too indolent to uncase, he seldom deigns to fix his paw.

See in Barrow, vol. i. p. 392, a very curious anecdote of a Hottentot's escape from a lion.

[92] *Lions are found.*]—Lions are not at all found in America, and fewer in Asia than in Africa. The natural history of the lion may be perused in Buffon with much information and entertainment; but more real knowledge concerning this noble animal may perhaps be obtained from Sparman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, than from any other writer on this subject.—*T.*

* There is doubtless a mistake in the original. Herodotus could not possibly mean the Haliacmon which runs through Pieria, and is perfectly distinct from the Lydias.—The author perhaps intended the Axius.—See Larcher's Table Geographique.—*T.*

forming the limits of Bottiæis and Macedonia, meet at last in the same channel. Here the Barbarians encamped: of all the rivers I have enumerated, the Chidorus, which flows from Crestonia, was the only one which did not afford sufficient water for the troops.

CXXVIII. Xerxes, viewing from Therma, Olympus and Ossa, Thessalian mountains of an extraordinary height, betwixt which was a narrow passage where the Peneus poured its stream, and where was an entrance to Thessaly, he was desirous of sailing to the mouth of this river. For the way he had determined to march as the safest was through the high country of Macedonia, by the Perræbi, and the town of Gonnus. He instantly however set about the accomplishment of his wish. He accordingly went on board a Sidonian vessel, for on such occasions he always preferred the ships of that country*; leaving here his land forces, he gave the signal for all the fleet to prepare to set sail. Arriving at the mouth of the Peneus, he observed it with particular admiration, and desired to know of his guides if it would not be possible to turn the stream, and make it empty itself into the sea in some other place.

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* This incident proves what Xerxes thought of their nautical skill.—See c. 59 of this book, as well as c. 100, where he gave the same preference.

CXXIX. Thessaly is said to have been formerly a marsh, on all sides surrounded by lofty mountains*; to the east by Pelion and Ossa, whose bases meet each other; to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus; to the south by Othrys. The space betwixt these is Thessaly, into which depressed region many rivers pour their waters, but more particularly these five, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus: all these, flowing from the mountains which surround Thessaly into the plain, are till then distinguished by specific names. They afterward unite in one narrow channel, and are poured into the sea. After their union they take the name of the Peneus only. It is said, that formerly, before this aperture to the sea existed, all these rivers, and also the lake Bæbeis, had not as now any specific name, but that their body of water was as large as at present, and the whole of Thessaly, a sea. The Thessalians affirm, and not improbably, that the valley through which the Peneus flows, was formed by Neptune. Whoever supposes that Neptune causes earthquakes, and that the consequent chasms are the work of that deity, may on viewing

* Rennel remarks that this description of Thessaly as well as of the straits of Thermopylæ, prove how well Herodotus had considered the scenes of particular actions.

viewing this spot easily ascribe it to his power: to me, the separation of these mountains appears to have been the effect of an earthquake[93].

CXXX. Xerxes* inquiring of his guides whether the Peneus might be conducted to the sea by any other channel, received from them, who were well acquainted with the situation of the country, this reply: "As Thessaly, O king, is "on every side encircled by mountains, the "the

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[93] *An earthquake.*]—The reader may see in Philostratus the description of a picture in which Neptune is represented as in the act of separating the mountains.—See also Strabo. The tradition that Ossa and Olympus were anciently different parts of the same mountain, existed from a very remote period in Greece; and according to Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, is not now obliterated. The valley through which the Peneus flows is the celebrated vale of Tempe, the fruitful theme of so many poetical effusions in ancient periods, as well as at the present. The river Peneus is no where better described than in the following lines of Ovid:

> Est nemus Hæmoniæ prærupta quod undique claudit
> Silva, vocant Tempe per quæ Peneus ab imo
> Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis
> Dejectuque gravis tenues agitantia fumos
> Nubila conducit, summasque aspergine sylvas
> Impluit et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat.
>
> *Metamorph.* i. 568.

Very few readers will require to be told that Ovid made the banks of the Peneus the scene of his fable of Daphne and Apollo.—*T.*

* This question proves that Xerxes was by no means deficient in talents.

" Peneus can have no other communication with " the sea." " The Thessalians," Xerxes is said to have answered, " are a sagacious people. " They have been careful to decline a contest " for many reasons, and particularly as they " must have discerned that their country would " afford an easy conquest to an invader. All " that would be necessary to deluge the whole " of Thessaly, except the mountainous parts, " would be to stop up the mouth of the river, " and thus throw back its waters upon the " country." This observation referred to the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians, and the first Greeks who submitted to the king. He presumed that their conduct declared the general sentiments of the nation in his favour. After surveying the place he returned to Therma.

CXXXI. He remained a few days in the neighbourhood of Pieria, during which interval a detachment of the third of his army was employed in clearing the Macedonian mountain, to facilitate the passage of the troops into the country of the Perœbi. At the same time the messengers who had been sent to require earth and water of the Greeks returned, some with and some without it.

CXXXII. Among those who sent it, were the Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Enians, the Perœbi, the Locri, the Magnetes, the Melians, the

Achæans of Pthiotis, the Thebans, and the rest of the people of Bœotia, except the Thespians and Platæans. Against all these nations those Greeks who determined to resist the Barbarians entered into a solemn vow[94] to the following effect—that whatever Greeks submitted to the Persian, without the plea of unavoidable necessity, should on any favourable change of their affairs, forfeit to the divinity of Delphi a tenth part of their property.

CXXXIII. Xerxes sent no messengers either to Athens or to Sparta, for when Darius had before sent to these places, the Athenians threw his people into their pit of punishment[95], the Lacedæmonians

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[94] *Solemn vow.*]—The Greek is ἔταμον ὅρκιον, literally, *they cut an oath*, because no alliance or agreement was ever made without sacrificing a victim. Similar to this, and to be explained in like manner, was the ferire fœdus of the Romans.

In like manner we say in English, *strike a bargain.—T.*

[95] *Pit of punishment.*]—Learned men have disputed whether the βάραθρον was the place of punishment at Athens or at Sparta. See the Essais de Critique of Bellanger, p. 63, and the note of Larcher on this passage. It was a deep pit, into which criminals were precipitated. Both cities seem to have been provided with a place similar to the dungeon of after-times, calculated both for imprisonment and precipitation. See, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, an entertaining account of the ingenious and successful contrivance of one Aristomenes to escape from this horrid place. *Polyæn.* book ii. c. 2. Similar to this was the punishment of precipitation

Lacedæmonians into wells, telling them to get the earth and water thence, and carry it to their king. The city and country of the Athenians was afterward laid waste; but that they suffered thus in consequence of their treatment of the ambassadors, is more than I will assert, indeed I can by no means ascribe it to that cause.

CXXXIV. But the vengeance of Talthybius [96], who had been the herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the Lacedæmonians. There is at Sparta a temple of Talthybius, his posterity are called Talthybiadæ,

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cipitation from the Tarpeian rock, inflicted on state criminals amongst the Romans. Perhaps it is not unreasonable to presume that a like kind of punishment prevailed amongst the Jews, who, we are told in the Gospels, hurried our Saviour to the brow of the hill on which the city was built, intending to throw him headlong down.—*T.*

[96] *Vengeance of Talthybius.*]—The indignation of Talthybius fell upon the republic of Lacedæmon generally, but at Athens upon a particular house, namely on the family of Miltiades, son of Cimon, because he had advised the Athenians to put to death the heralds who came to Attica.—*Pausanias*, book iii. chapter 12.

I can no where find on what account these honours were paid to Talthybius and his posterity, except that Talthybius was probably the first herald in the Grecian history, and might on that account be reverenced at Sparta. The persons of heralds the laws of all nations consented to hold sacred, but this veneration was paid not to the individual, but to the office. The name of Talthybius occurs very seldom in Homer, and is never introduced with any peculiar marks of honour or distinction.—*T.*

Talthybiadæ, and are employed, as a mark of honour, on all foreign embassies. A long time after the incident we have related, the entrails of the victims continued at Sparta to bear an unfavourable appearance, till the people, reduced to despondency, called a general assembly, in which they inquired by their heralds, if any Lacedæmonian would die for his country [97]. Upon this

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[97] *Die for his country.*]—A superstitious idea prevailed among the ancients, that the safety of a whole nation might be secured, or the life of an individual be preserved, by the voluntary devotion of one or more persons to death. Thus, among the Greeks, in the instance before us, and in the example of Leonidas, who devoted himself at Thermopylæ. The Romans were distinguished by the same absurd error: the chasm of the forum was supposed to close because a Roman knight voluntarily leaped into it; and a splendid victory over their adversaries was believed to be the consequence of the self-devotion of Decius. In succeeding times it became customary for individuals to devote and consecrate themselves, their fortunes, and their lives, to the service of the emperors. The folly began with Augustus, to whom one Pacuvius thus devoted himself. That better devotion, the result not of superstition but of genuine patriotism, is thus well described by Thomson:

> But ah, too little known to modern times,
> Be not the noblest passion past unsung,
> That ray peculiar, from unbounded love
> Effus'd, which kindles the heroic soul—
> Devotion to the public Glorious flame,
> Celestial ardour, in what unknown worlds,
> Profusely scatter'd through the blue immense,
> Hast thou been blessing myriads, since in Rome,

Old

this Sperthies[58], son of Aneristus, and Bulis son of Nicolaus, Spartans of great accomplishments and distinction, offered themselves to undergo whatever punishment Xerxes the son of Darius should think proper to inflict on account of the murder of his ambassadors. These men therefore the Spartans sent to the Medes, as to certain death.

CXXXV. The magnanimity of these two men, as well as the words which they used, deserve admiration. On their way to Susa they came to Hydarnes, a native of Persia, and governor of the vanquished places in Asia near the sea: he entertained them with much liberality and kindness, and addressed them as follows:

Old virtuous Rome, so many deathless names
From thee their lustre drew? Since, taught by thee,
Their poverty put splendour to the blush,
Pain grew luxurious, and death delight? *T.*

[58] *Sperthies.*]—The name of this Spartan is very variously written: he is called Spertis, Sperchis, and Sperches, but it is of no great importance. Suidas, by an unpardonable negligence, changes these two Spartans into two Athenians. They sung, in honour of these two exalted characters, a melancholy dirge called Sperchis, though I doubt not that Bulis was also celebrated in it, as was Aristogiton in that of Harmodius.—See *Theocritus*, *Idyl.* xv. 96. 98.—*Larcher.*

The above mistake in Suidas, which Larcher has pointed out, Toup, in his Emendations of that author, has omitted to notice.—*T.*

lows: "Why, O Lacedæmonians, will you reject "the friendship of the king? From me, and "from my condition, you may learn how well "he knows to reward merit. He already thinks "highly of your virtue, and if you will but enter "into his service, he will doubtless assign to "each of you some government in Greece." "Hydarnes," they replied, "your advice with "respect to us is inconsistent: you speak from "the experience of your own but with an entire "ignorance of our situation. To you servi- "tude is familiar; but how sweet a thing liberty "is, you have never known, if you had, you "yourself would have advised us to make all "possible exertions to preserve it[99]."

CXXXVI. When introduced, on their arrival at Susa, to the royal presence, they were first ordered by the guards to fall prostrate, and adore the king[100], and some force was used to compel

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[99] *To preserve it.*]—The Greek is ουκ αν δοξασι συμβουλευοις ἡμῖν περι αυτης μαχεσθαι αλλα και πελεκεσι, which literally means, You would advise us to fight for it not only with spears, but with hatchets: which in a manner explains itself; for to fight with a spear implies fighting at a greater distance, and consequently with less danger, than was possible with an ax. the wounds of which must be more severe, and less easily avoided.—*T.*

[100] *Adore the king.*]—This was the compliment always paid to the kings of Persia, when admitted to their presence;

compel them. But this they refused to do, even if they should dash their heads against the ground. They were not, they said, accustomed to adore a man, nor was it for this purpose that they came. After persevering in such conduct, they addressed Xerxes himself in these and similar expressions: "King of the Medes, we "are sent by our countrymen to make atone-"ment for those ambassadors who perished at "Sparta." Xerxes with great magnanimity said he would not imitate the example of the Lacedæmonians. They in killing his ambassadors had violated the laws of nations; he would not be guilty of that with which he reproached them, nor, by destroying their messengers, indirectly justify their crime.

CXXXVII. In consequence of this conduct of the Spartans, the indignation of Talthybius subsided for the present, notwithstanding the return

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sence; but this the Greeks, with the exception of Themistocles; and one or two more, uniformly refused to do. We learn from Valerius Maximus, that one Timagoras, an Athenian, having done this, was by his countrymen condemned to die: thinking the dignity of their city injured and degraded by this act of meanness.

Prideaux remarks, that this compliment of prostration before him must have been paid the king of Persia by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, or they could not have had access to him.—*T.*

turn of Sperthies and Bulis to their country But according to the Lacedæmonian account, this displeasure was after a long interval, again conspicuous in the war betwixt the people of the Peloponnese and the Athenians. For my own part, I see no divine interposition [101] in this business: that the anger of Talthybius should without ceasing continue to operate till the devoted individuals were sent from their country, seems just and reasonable; but that it should ultimately fall on the children of these men, does not to me look like divine vengeance. Nicolaus the son of Bulis, and Aneristus the son of Sperthies, had taken a fishing-vessel belonging to the Tirinthians [102] full of men: being afterward sent

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[101] *Divine interposition.*]—To impute that to divine interposition which human sagacity is unable to account for or explain, seems the necessary result of ignorance combined with superstition. That in a case so remarkable as this before us, Herodotus should disdain to do this, does the highest credit to his candour and his wisdom. The passage however has greatly perplexed the most learned commentators, some thinking that the negative particle ought to be rejected, others the contrary. I would refer the curious reader to Valcnaer's note on the passage, which to me seems very satisfactory, and which I have of course adopted.—*T.*

[102] *To the Tirinthians.*]—Thucydides relates the particulars of this affair, book ii. chapter 67. From his account no divine interposition seems necessary to explain what happened to Nicolaus and Aneristus: they were two of several

sent on some public business into Asia by the Lacedæmonians, they were betrayed by Sitalces, son of Tereus, king of Thrace, and by Nymphodorus son of Pythus, a man of Abdera. They were accordingly captured near Eisanthis on the Hellespont, and being carried to Attica were put to death by the Athenians, as was also Aristeus son of Adimantus, a Corinthian.—These events happened many years after the expedition of Xerxes [103].

CXXXVIII. This expedition, to return to my proper subject, was nominally said to be directed against Athens; but its real object was the entire conquest of Greece. The Greeks were long prepared for this invasion, but they did not all think of it alike. They who had made their submission to the Persian, did not conceive they had any thing to apprehend from the

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several who fell into the hands of the Athenians, who were then at variance with Sparta. In the beginning of the war, the Lacedæmonians had put to death such as they captured by sea, and the Athenians thought themselves at liberty to retaliate. Thucydides says, that Aristeas, one of the captives, was in a particular manner odious to the Athenians, as they imputed to him many calamities they had recently experienced; but he says no such thing either of Nicolaus or Aneristus.—*T.*

[103] *After the expedition of Xerxes.*]—The events here alluded to happened in the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, as appears from Thucydides.

the Barbarian's presence, whilst they who had resisted his proposals were overwhelmed with terror and alarm. The united naval armament of Greece was far from able to contend with his power; and a great number of them discovered more inclination to go over to the Medes, than to concur in the general defence.

CXXXIX. I feel myself impelled in this place to deliver an opinion, which, though it may appear invidious to most men, as it seems to me the fact, I shall not suppress. If the Athenians, through terror of the impending danger, had forsaken their country, or if they had staid merely to have surrendered themselves to Xerxes, he would certainly have met with no resistance by sea; if he had remained, without contest, master of the sea, the following must have been the event of things on the continent:—Although they of the Peloponnese had fortified the isthmus by a number of walls, the Lacedæmonians must inevitably have been deserted by their allies, not so much from inclination, as from their being compelled to see their cities regularly taken and pillaged by the Barbarian fleet. Thus left alone, after many efforts of valour, they would have encountered an honourable death. Either this must have been their lot, or, seeing the other Greeks forming alliances with the Medes, they themselves would have done the same: thus would

would Greece either way have been reduced under the Persian yoke. Of what advantage the walls along the isthmus could possibly have been, whilst the king remained master of the sea, I am unable to discover. Whoever therefore shall consider the Athenians as the deliverers of Greece, will not be far from the truth. The scale to which they inclined, would necessarily preponderate. In their anxiety for preserving the liberties of their country, they animated the ardour of all that part of Greece which was before inclined to resist the Medes. They, next to the gods, repelled the invader; nor did the Delphic oracles, alarming and terrific as they were, induce them to abandon Greece; but they waited to receive the invader.

CXL. The Athenians, desirous to know the will of the oracle, sent messengers to Delphi; who, after the customary ceremonies entering the temple, were thus addressed in a prophetic spirit by the priestess, whose name was Aristonice:

" Unhappy men, to earth's last limits go;
" Forsake your homes, and city's lofty brow,
" For neither head nor bodies firm remain,
" Nor hands assist you, nor can feet sustain:
" All, all is lost, the fires spread wide around,
" Mars in his Syrian car and arms is found;

" Not ye alone his furious wrath may fear;
" Their towers from many shall his vengeance tear.
" And now from hallow'd shrines the flames ascend,
" Black blood and sweat their fearful torrents blend.
" Horror prevails! Ye victims of despair,
" Depart, and for unheard-of ills prepare!"

CXLI. This reply filled the Athenian messengers with the deepest affliction: whilst they were reflecting on its melancholy import, Timon, son of Androbulis, one of the most illustrious citizens of Delphi, recommended them to assume the dress of supplicants, and a second time to consult the oracle. They followed his advice, and expressed their sentiments to the oracle in these terms: " O king, return us an answer more auspicious " to our country; let our supplicatory dress and " attitude incline you to compassion; otherwise " we will not leave your sanctuary, but here " remain till we die." The second answer[104] of the priestess was to this effect:

" Of Jove, who rules Olympian heights above,
" Not Pallas' self the solemn will can move.
" My

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[104] *The second answer.*]—This has generally been imputed to the interposition of Themistocles, who, as Plutarch informs us, despairing to influence his fellow citizens by any human arguments, brought to his aid divine revelations, prodigies, and oracles, which he employed like machines in a theatre.

" My awful words attend then once again,
" And firm they shall as adamant remain.
" When all is lost within Cecropian bounds,
" And where Cithæron's sacred bosom sounds,
" Jove to his lov'd Tritonian maid shall give
" A wall of wood, where you and yours shall live.
" Your numerous foes approach forbear to stay,
" But fly from horse, and foot, and arms away.
" Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
" The rising source of many a mother's joy:
" Thou shalt—tho' Ceres scatter o'er the plain,
" Or keep within dispos'd, her golden grain."

CXLII. The messengers, as reasonably they might, deeming this reply less severe than the former, wrote it down, and returning to Athens recited it to the people. Many different, and indeed entirely opposite opinions, were delivered concerning the meaning of the oracle: some of the oldest men thought it intended to declare, that the citadel, which formerly was surrounded by a pallisade, should not be taken, to which pallisade they referred the oracular expression of the wooden wall. Others thought, that the deity, by a wooden wall, meant ships, which therefore, omitting every thing else, it became them to provide. But they who inclined to this opinion were perplexed by the concluding words of the oracle:

" Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
" The rising source of many a mother's joy:

" Thou shalt—tho' Ceres scatter o'er the plain,
" Or keep within dispos'd, her golden grain;"

for the interpreters of the oracle presumed, that a defeat would be the consequence of a sea-engagement near Salamis.

CXLIII. There was at Athens a man lately arrived at the first dignities of the state, whose name was Themistocles, the son of Neocles; he would not allow the interpreters of the oracles to be entirely right. " If," said he[105], " that pre-
" diction had referred to the Athenians, the deity
" would not have used terms so gentle. The
" expression would surely have been, ' O
" wretched Salamis,' and not ' O immortal Sa-
" lamis,' if the inhabitants had been doomed
" to perish in the vicinity of that island." Every more

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[105] *If, said he.*]—The last-mentioned oracle is thus given by Glover in his Athenaid, book i. 334.

" Ah, still my tongue like adamant is hard;
Minerva's tow'rs must perish: Jove severe
So wills, yet granting, at his daughter's suit,
Her people refuge under walls of wood;
But shun the myriads of terrific horse,
Which on your fields an eastern Mars shall bring."—
She ceas'd, th' Athenian notes her answer down;
To one the most entrusted of his train
He gives the tablet: " Back to Athens fly,"
He said, " the son of Neocles alone,
By his unbounded faculties, can pierce
The hidden sense of these mysterious strains."

more sagacious person, he thought, must allow that the oracle threatened not the Athenians, but the enemy; he recommended them, therefore, to prepare for an engagement by sea, the only proper interpretation of the walls of wood. This opinion of Themistocles appeared to the Athenians more judicious than that of the interpreters, who were averse to a naval engagement; and who advised their countrymen to attempt no resistance, but to abandon Attica, and seek another residence.

CXLIV. Themistocles had on a former occasion given proofs of his superior sagacity: a considerable sum of money had been collected in the public treasury, the produce of the mines of Laurium. A proposal had been made, and approved, that this should be equally divided among the citizens of mature age, at the rate of ten drachmæ a head; Themistocles dissuaded [106] the Athenians from this measure, and prevailed on them to furnish out with it a fleet of two hundred vessels,

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[106] *Themistocles dissuaded.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, relates the same fact. It was doubtless a bold though sagacious measure, and one of those which, as it happens to meet the temporary emotion of the people, occasions a man either to be torn in pieces as the betrayer, or venerated as the saviour of his country.—*T.*

It seems to me perfectly clear, that the answer of the oracle was dictated by Themistocles.

vessels, for the war with Ægina. It was this war, therefore, which operated to the safety of Greece, by obliging the Athenians to become sailors. This fleet was not applied to the purpose for which it was originally intended, but it opportunely served for the general benefit of Greece. The above ships being already prepared, the Athenians had only to increase their number: it was therefore determined, in a general council, held after the declaration of the oracle, that they could not better testify their obedience to the divinity, than by meeting at sea the Barbarian invader of their country, in conjunction with those Greeks who chose to join their arms.—Such were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

CXLV. At this council, all the other Greeks assisted who were animated with an ingenuous ardour with respect to their country. After a conference, in which they pledged themselves to be faithful to the common interest, it was first of all determined, that their private resentments and hostilities should cease. At this period great disturbances existed, but more particularly betwixt the people of Athens and Ægina. As soon as they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, at the head of his forces, the Athenians resolved to send some emissaries into Asia, to watch the motions of the king. It was also determined, to

send some persons to Argos, to form with that nation, a confederacy against the Persian war: others were sent to Sicily, to Gelon, the son of Dinomenis; some to Corcyra and Crete, to solicit assistance for Greece. It was their view, if possible, to collect Greece into one united body, to counteract a calamity which menaced their common safety. The power of Gelon was then deemed of so much importance, as to be surpassed by no individual state of Greece.

CXLVI. When all these measures were agreed upon, and their private animosities had ceased, their first step was to send three spies [107] to Asia. These men, on their arrival at Sardis, were seized, in the act of examining the royal army, and being tortured by the command of the generals of the land forces, were about to be put to death. When Xerxes heard of this, he expressed

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[107] *Three spies.*]—The treatment of spies is one of those things about which nations the most polished and the most barbarous have always thought and acted alike. To hang a spy the moment he is discovered, without any forms of judicial process, is warranted by universal consent, and seems justifiable on the common maxims of policy.

The refinement of modern times annexes a considerable degree of infamy to the employment and character of a spy, but the enterprize of Diomed and Ulysses, as recorded by Homer, seems to prove that this was not always the case.—*T.*

pressed himself displeased with the proceedings of his officers, and sending some of his guards, he commanded them to bring the spies to his presence, if they were not already dead: the guards arrived in time to preserve them, and they were conducted to the royal presence. Xerxes, after inquiring their business, directed his guards to lead the men round his army [108], and shew them all his forces, both horse and foot; when they had fully satisfied their curiosity, he suffered them to depart without molestation, wherever they thought proper. Xerxes was prompted to this conduct, by the idea that if the spies were put to death, the Greeks would be able to form no conception of his power exceeding even the voice of fame; he imagined also, that the loss of three individuals, could prove of no serious detriment to the enemy. But he concluded, that by the return of these men to Greece, the Greeks, hearing of the preparations made against them, would not wait his arrival to make their submissions; and that consequently he should be spared the trouble of marching against them.

CXLVII. Upon another occasion Xerxes appeared

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[108] *Round his army.*]—A similar conduct was pursued by Caius Fabricius, with regard to the spies of Pyrrhus.

The character of Xerxes seems to me to have been very imperfectly understood.—In many instances he proved himself of superior worth as well as wisdom.—The subject well deserves a separate and elaborate Essay.

peared to reason in the same manner: when he was at Abydos he saw some vessels sailing over the Hellespont, which carried corn from the Pontus* to Ægina and the Peloponnese. When his attendants discovered them to be enemies they prepared to pursue them, and looked earnestly on the king, as expecting his orders to do so. Xerxes inquired where these vessels were going; on being told to the enemy, and that they were laden with corn, "Well," he replied, "and are not we going to the same place, car-"rying with us corn amongst other necessaries? "How, therefore, can these injure us, who are "carrying provisions for our use." The spies, after surveying all that they desired, returned to Europe.

CXLVIII. After their return, those Greeks who had associated to resist the Persian, sent messengers a second time to Argos. The Argives give this account of their own conduct:—They were acquainted, they say, at a very early period,

* All the Greeks, and more particularly the Athenians, carried on a considerable commerce with the maritime coast of the Pontus Euxinus and the Crimea. They exported the wines of Cos, Thasus, &c. the earthen ware and merchandize of Athens, which were then not less esteemed for their elegance and beauty, than those of London and Paris are at this period. In exchange for these commodities, they imported in return from these places, corn, wax, honey, wool, leather, skins, &c. and this commerce proved a source of great wealth to Athens.—*Larcher.*

period, with the Barbarian's views upon Greece; and being aware, and indeed assured, that they would be called upon by the Greeks for their assistance to oppose him, they sent to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, what line of conduct they might most advantageously pursue. They had recently lost six thousand of their countrymen, who were slain by the Lacedæmonians, under the conduct of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides. The Pythian made them this reply:

" You, whom your neighbours hate, whilst gods
" above,
" Immortal gods, with truest kindness love,
" Keep close within, and well your head defend,
" Which to the limbs shall sure protection lend."

This was the answer given them by the Pythian, before the arrival of the Grecian envoy. When these had delivered their commission to the senate of Argos, the Argives expressed themselves disposed to enter into a pacific treaty with the Lacedæmonians, for a term of thirty years, upon condition of having the command of half [109] of

[109] *The command of half.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that the Argives sent deputies to the general assembly, who, on asking for a share of the command, received an answer to this effect: That if they thought it harder to submit to the command of a Grecian, than to have a Barbarian master, they might as well stay, as they were, in quiet: if they were ambitious to have the command of Greece, they must deserve it by their noble actions.

of the troops; they thought that in justice they might claim the whole, but agreed to be satisfied with half.

CXLIX. This, according to their own account, was the answer of the Argive senate, in contradiction to the advice of the oracle, not to join the Grecian confederacy. Their awe of the divinity did not prevent their urging with eagerness a treaty for thirty years, in which period their children, they presumed, would arrive at manhood; and they feared, if they refused to make a treaty, and their former misfortunes should be aggravated by any new calamity in the Persian war, they might be ultimately reduced under the Lacedæmonian yoke. To these proposals of the Argive senate, the Spartan envoys replied, that with respect to the treaty, they would relate their determination to their countrymen; but as to the military command, they were authorized to make this decisive answer: That as they had two kings, and the Argives but one[110], the Spartans could not deprive either of their two[111] sovereigns of his privileges; but there was no

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[110] *The Argives but one.*]—Larcher remarks on this passage, that it is the only one he has been able to discover, which mentions there being a king of Argos.

[111] *Either of their two.*]—In book v. chap. 75, we are told expressly that the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both

no reason why the Argive prince should not be vested with a joint and equal authority. Thus the Argives relate that they found themselves unable to submit to the Lacedæmonian insolence, choosing rather to be subject to the Barbarians, than to the tyranny of Sparta [112]. They therefore informed the ambassadors, that if they did not quit their territories before sun-set. they should be regarded as enemies.

CL. The above is the Argive account; another report, however, is prevalent in Greece:—Xerxes, it is said, before he commenced hostilities with Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who was instructed thus to address the people: "Men of Argos, attend to the words of Xerxes: we are of opinion "that Perses, whom we acknowledge to be our "ancestor, was the son of Perses, whose mother "was Danae, and of Andromeda, the daughter "of Cepheus; thus it appears that we derive "our origin from you [113]. It would, therefore, "be

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both their kings to be at the same time present with the army, with which assertion the passage before us evidently militates.

[112] *Tyranny of Sparta.*]—The Lacedæmonians, says Valcnaer, and Cleomenes in particular, had on various occasions treated the Argives ill, these, therefore, with the Achæans, were the only people of the Peloponnese who refused to assist them in the Peloponnesian war.

[113] *Our origin from you.*]—If the fables of Greece may be

" be unnatural either for us to carry on war with " those from whom we are descended, or for " you to make us your adversaries, by giving " your assistance to others. Remain, therefore, " in tranquillity at home; if what I meditate " prove successful, no nation shall receive from " me greater honours than yours." This proposition appeared to the Argives of such serious importance, that they of themselves made no application to the Greeks; and when they were called upon for their assistance, they claimed an equal command, merely with the view of remaining

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be credited, the royal families of Perseus and Argos came from the same source. From Danae, the daughter of Acrisius and Jupiter, came Perses, king of Argos; Perses had by Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, Perses, who gave his name to the Persians, before called Cepheri.—*Larcher.*

It is truly said by Plato (in Alcibiad. vol. ii. p. 120.) that the Heraclidæ in Greece, and the Achæmenidæ among the Persians, were of the same stock. On this account Herodotus makes Xerxes claim kindred with the Argives of Greece, as being equally of the posterity of Perses, the same as Perseus, the sun, under which character the Persians described the patriarch from whom they were descended. Perseus was the same as Mithras, whose sacred cavern was styled Perseüm.

> Phœbe parens—seu te roseum Titana vocari
> Gentis Achæmeniæ ritu, seu præstat Osirin
> Frugiferum: seu Perseï sub rupibus antri
> Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.
>
> *Statius Theb.* i. 717.

The above is from Bryant, vol. ii. 67, 68.—See also, of the same work, vol i. 466, and vol. iii. 388.

maining quiet, for they knew the Lacedæmonians would refuse it [114].

CLI. The above receives confirmation from a circumstance represented in Greece to have happened many years afterwards. The Athenians, upon some occasion or other, sent ambassadors to Susa, the city of Memnon [115], amongst whom was Callias*, the son of Hipponicus: at the same place, and time, some Argives were present, to inquire of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, whether the friendship they had formed with his father Xerxes, continued still in force, or

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[114] *Would refuse it.*]—Plutarch, in his Essay on the malignity of Herodotus, which I have frequently had occasion to mention, says, that this passage is a remarkable instance of our author's malice. "Every body knows," says Plutarch, "that the Argives were not unwilling to enter into the Grecian confederacy, although they did not choose to submit to the tyranny of the Lacedæmonians."—*T.*

[115] *City of Memnon.*]—Built by Tithonus, the father of Memnon, and called both by Herodotus and Strabo the Memnonian city.

* The fact was this, according to Diodorus Siculus, Artaxerxes, in consequence of the great losses he had sustained in Cyprus, determined to make peace with the Greeks. Artabanes and Megabyzes were accordingly dispatched on this business as ambassadors to Athens.—The terms appearing reasonable to the Athenians, they on their side sent ambassadors to Artaxerxes with full powers.—Callias was at the head of the embassy, and this event happened in the fourth year of the 82d Olympiad, and 449 years before the Christian æra.

or whether he regarded them as enemies. Artaxerxes replied, that it certainly did continue, and that no city had a greater share of his regard than Argos.

CLII. In relating the above, I neither speak from my own knowledge nor give any opinion, having no other authority but that of the Argives themselves, for saying that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos, or that the Argive ambassadors at Susa interrogated Artaxerxes concerning his friendship for their country. This, however, I know, that if all men were to produce in one place[116] their

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[116] *Produce in one place.*]—This passage is obscure. The meaning of Herodotus seems to be, that if we take the representation of the Argives, their guilt was not considerable, according to the favourable eye with which all men view their own faults. "I know," says he, "that all men would rather keep their own faults, than take those of others."

A similar sentiment to this is well expressed by lord Chesterfield, in a paper of the World.

"If, sometimes, our common parent has been a little partial, and not kept the scales quite even, if one preponderates too much, we throw into the lighter a due counterpoise of vanity, which never fails to set all right. Hence it happens, that hardly any man would without reserve, and in every particular, change with any other."

Solon, according to Valerius Maximus, book vii. c. 2. asserted the same thing concerning human miseries. "Solon aiebat si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent, futurum ut propria deportare domum quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent." This topic is treated with

their faults, in order to exchange them for those of their neighbours, the result would be, that after due examination each would willingly return with what he brought.—The conduct of the Argives, according to this representation, was not the basest possible. But it is incumbent upon me to record the different opinions of men, though I am not obliged indiscriminately to credit them: and let this my opinion be applied to the whole of my history. It is then also asserted, that the Argives first invited the Persian to invade Greece, imagining, after the losses they had sustained from the Lacedæmonians, that they could experience no change for the worse.

CLIII. With the view of forming a treaty with

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with great humour in the Spectator, N° 557 and 558. Should there be any doubt about the meaning of κακα, in this passage, it may be observed that Plutarch substitutes πανουργα.

Plutarch, after reprobating the manner in which Herodotus speaks of the Argives, adds this comment:

"What he therefore reports the Æthiopian to have exclaimed concerning the ointment and the purple, 'Deceitful are the beauties, deceitful the garments of the Persians,' may be applied to himself; for deceitful are the phrases, deceitful the figures, which Herodotus employs, being perplexed, fallacious, and unsound. For as painters set off and render more conspicuous the luminous parts of their pictures by the aid of shades, so he by his denials extends his calumnies, and by his ambiguous speeches makes his suspicions take the deeper impression."—T.

with Gelon, there arrived in Sicily different ambassadors from the several allies, and Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon was a citizen of Gela[117], of the island of Telo, opposite Triopium; when the Lindians of Rhodes[118], and Antiphemus, built Gela,

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[117] *Gela.*]—The curious reader will find every thing relating to Gela amply discussed by the learned d'Orville, in his Sicula, page 111 to page 131. It seems probable that it was built 713 years before Christ. According to Diodorus Siculus, Phintias, tyrant of Agrigentum, destroyed Gela about the 124th Olympiad, and 572 years after its first foundation: the inhabitants he removed to the town of Phintias, which he built. A medal has been found in Sicily, on one side of which is a minotaur, the well known type of the people of Gela; on the reverse a wild boar, which is always found on the medals of Phintias. See Larcher's Table Geographique, vol. vii. p. 157.—*T.*

[118] *Rhodes.*]—The Rhodians succeeded the Cretans in the dominion of the sea; they styled themselves sons of the sea. So Simias, their own historian, says of them, as cited by Clemens Alexand. and explained by Bochart, υἱοὶ θαλάσσης. —See Diodorus Sic. l. v. Florus calls them Nauticus populus. See Meursius, where we find that Rhodes was styled Mari enata, because it emerged by the decrease of the sea. They applied themselves with great success to maritime affairs, and became famous for building ships; they took so much care to keep the art to themselves, that it was criminal not only to enter, but even look at their docks.—See in Eustathius in Dion. the expression τὰ λαὶξ πλοῖα. The high esteem and credit which Rhodes obtained, is apparent from the succours which the neighbouring states sent her, when almost destroyed by an earthquake. See Polybius. In Polybius the reader may find an account of the wisdom of her

Gela, he accompanied them. His posterity, in process of time, became the ministers of the infernal deities[119], which honour, Telines, one of their ancestors, thus obtained: Some men of Gela, who in a public tumult had been worsted, took refuge at Mactorium, a city beyond Gela. Telines

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her politics: one part I cannot omit, namely, the just value they set on their poor, and their importance to the state, and the care they took of them. They established many rules for their maintenance, and made ample provision for them all, wisely concluding, that the better they were used, the more obedient and peaceable they would be, and always ready to attend the summons of the public, in recruiting and manning their fleets. With the terror of these they long maintained the sovereignty of the seas, extending their dominion even to Pharos, near Ægypt, till Cleopatra, by subtlety, shook off their yoke. The inhabitants of Pharos complaining of the heavy tribute they annually paid, as many other islands did, to the Rhodians, she ordered a mole to be thrown up to join Pharos to the continent, which was surprisingly executed within seven days, and thence called Eptastadium. Soon after this the Rhodian officers being arrived at Pharos for the payment of the tribute, the queen, riding on horseback over the new causeway to Pharos, told the Rhodians they did not know their own business: that the tribute was not to be paid by the people of the continent, and Pharos was no longer an island. Let me add, that the inhabitants of Rhodes long maintained their credit in maritime affairs, gave their assistance to the unfortunate, curbed and restrained the oppressor, and by the institution of the knights of Jerusalem, in 1308, enlisted themselves in defence of Christianity against the encroachments of the infidels, and gallantly defended their island against the Ottoman forces for the space of 200 years.—*T.*

[119] *Infernal deities.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

Telines brought these back to their allegiance, without any other aid than the things sacred to the above deities, but where or in what manner he obtained them, I am unable to explain. It was by their aid, that he effected the return of the citizens of Gela, having previously stipulated that his descendants should be the ministers of the above-mentioned deities. That Telines should undertake and accomplish so difficult an enterprize, seems to me particularly surprising; it was certainly beyond the abilities of any ordinary individual, and could only have been executed by a man of very superior qualities. He is, nevertheless, reported by the people of Sicily to have been a person of different character; that is to say, of a delicate and effeminate nature.—Thus, however, he attained his dignities.

CLIV. Cleander, the son of Pantareus, after possessing for seven years the sovereignty of Gela, was assassinated by Sabyllus, a citizen of the place, and succeeded in his authority by his brother Hippocrates. During his reign, Gelon [120], one

[120] *Gelon.*]—He was not, as Dionysius Halicarnassus asserts, the brother of Hippocrates. From belonging to the body guard of Hippocrates, he elevated himself to the government of Gela, aad from thence to that of Syracuse: this last he rendered a flourishing town, and so attached it to him by his liberality, that when they broke in pieces the

one of the posterity of Telines, of whom indeed there were many others, and particularly Ænesidemus, son of Pataïcus, of the body-guard of Hippocrates, was soon, on account of his military virtue, promoted to the rank of general of the cavalry. He had eminently distinguished himself in the several different wars, which Hippocrates had prosecuted against the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the people of Zancle and Leontium, not to mention those of Syracuse, and many barbarous nations. Of all these cities, which I have enumerated, that of Syracuse alone escaped the yoke of Hippocrates. The Syracusans, indeed, had sustained a signal defeat near the river Elorus, but the Corinthians and Corcyræans had supported and delivered them, on the express condition that they should give up to Hippocrates the city of Camarina, which they possessed from the remotest antiquity.

CLV. Hippocrates, after reigning the same period as his brother Cleander, lost his life before the town of Hybla[121], in a war against the Sicilians.

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statues of the tyrants, to coin them into money, when Timoleon restored its liberty to Syracuse, those of Gelon alone were exempted.—*Larcher.*

[121] *Hybla.*]—There were in Sicily three cities of this name, the greater, the middle, and the little Hybla. The first of these is now called Paterno, and is at the foot of Ætna; the second

lians. Gelon, after having conquered his fellow-citizens in a fixed battle, under pretence of defending the rights of Euclid and Cleander, sons of Hippocrates, whose accession to their father's dignity was resisted, obtained the supreme authority of Gela, to the exclusion of the lawful heirs. He afterwards got possession of Syracuse, taking the opportunity of restoring to their country, from Csamene, those of the Syracusans called Gamori [122], who had been expelled by the common people, in conjunction with their own slaves the Cillyrians [123]. The Syracusans, on his approach, made their submissions, and delivered up their city.

CLVI. When Gelon became master of Syracuse he made light of Gela, his former possession,

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second is the modern Ragusa; the third is Megara.—It was before the second Hybla that Hippocrates died. Hybla was also the name of a mountain in Sicily, which abounded in thyme, and was celebrated for its bees; it has been sufficiently notorious in poetic description.

I am conscious that, with respect to geographical descriptions, I have on all occasions been concise, and some of my readers may, perhaps, think to a fault. In answer to this I can only observe, that the geography of Herodotus might be reasonably expected to employ a separate volume.—*T.*

[122] *Gamori.*]—The Gamori or Geomori, were properly those who, being sent away as a colony, divided the lands among them.

[123] *Cillyrians.*]—This name is written differently. Larcher calls them Cillicyrians.

sion, and consigned it to the care of his brother Hiero. Syracuse, which now was every thing to him, became soon a great and powerful city. Gelon removed all its inhabitants from Camarine, whom he made citizens of Syracuse, after overturning their city. He did the same with respect to more than half of the people of Gela. He besieged also the people of Sicilian Megara; on their surrender the most wealthy among them, who, on account of their activity against him, expected no mercy, were removed to Syracuse, and permitted to enjoy the privileges of citizens. The common people of Megara, who, not having been instruments of the war, thought they had nothing to apprehend, after being conducted to Syracuse, were sold as slaves, to be carried out of Sicily. The people of Eubœa in Sicily were in like manner separated, and experienced the same treatment. His motive, in both these instances, was his fear and dislike of the common people; thus he rendered himself a most powerful prince.

CLVII. When the Grecian ambassadors arrived at Syracuse, and obtained an audience of the king, they addressed him to this effect: "The "Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and their common "allies, have deputed us to solicit your assist- "ance against the Barbarian. You must have "heard of his intended invasion of our country, "that

" that he has thrown bridges over the Helle-
" spont, and, bringing with him all the powers of
" Asia, is about to burst upon Greece. He
" pretends, that his hostilities are directed against
" Athens alone; but his real object is the entire
" subjection of Greece. We call on you, there-
" fore, whose power is so great, and whose Si-
" cilian dominions constitute so material a por-
" tion of Greece, to assist us in the vindication
" of our common liberty. Greece united will
" form a power formidable enough to resist our
" invaders; but if some of our countrymen be-
" tray us, and others withhold their assistance,
" the defenders of Greece will be reduced to an
" insignificant number, and our universal ruin
" may be expected to ensue. Do not imagine
" that the Persian, after vanquishing us, will not
" come to you; it becomes you, therefore, to
" take every necessary precaution; by assisting
" us, you render your own situation secure.—
" An enterprise concerted with wisdom seldom
" fails of success."

CLVIII. The reply of Gelon was thus vehe-
ment: " Your address to me, O men of Greece,"
said he, " is insolent in the extreme. How can
" you presume to solicit my aid against the
" Barbarian: when I formerly asked you for
" assistance against the Carthaginians, and to
" revenge on the people of Ægesta, the death

" of Dorieus, the son of Anaxandrides, offer-
" ing in return to make those commercial places
" free, from whence great advantages would
" have been derived to you, on both occasions
" you refused to succour me? That all this re-
" gion, therefore, is not in subjection to the
" Barbarians has not depended upon you; the
" event, however, has been fortunate to me.
" But on the approach of war, and your own
" immediate danger, you have recourse to Gelon.
" I shall not imitate your contemptuous conduct;
" I am ready to send to your aid two hundred
" triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed troops,
" two thousand horse, and as many archers,
" two thousand slingers, and an equal number
" of light-armed cavalry. It shall be my care
" also to provide corn [124] for all the forces of
" Greece, during the continuance of the war.
" But

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[124] *Provide corn.*]—The fertility of Sicily, with respect to corn, has from the most remote times been memorable. In the most flourishing times of Rome it was called the granary of the republic. See Cicero in Verrem, ii.—" Ille M. Cato sapiens cellam penariam reipublicæ, nutricem plebis Romanæ Siciliam nominavit." Modern travellers agree in representing Sicily as eminently abundant in its crops of corn.

There is a fragment of Antiphanes preserved in Athenæus, which may thus be translated:

" A cook from Elis, a caldron from Argos, wine of Phlius, tapestry of Corinth, fish from Sicyon, pipers (αυλητριδες) from Ægium, *cheese from Sicily*, the perfumes of Athens, and eels of Bœotia."

" But I make these offers on the condition of " being appointed to the supreme command, " otherwise I will neither come myself, nor fur- " nish supplies."

CLIX. Syagrus, unable to contain himself, exclaimed aloud: " How would Agamemnon, " the descendant of Pelops, lament, if he could " know that the Spartans suffered themselves to " be commanded by Gelon, and the people of " Syracuse! Upon this subject I will hear you " no farther; if you have any intention of assist- " ing Greece, you must submit to be subordinate " to the Lacedæmonians; if you refuse this, we " decline your aid."

CLX. When Gelon perceived the particular aversion of Syagrus to his proposals, he delivered himself a second time as follows: " Stranger of " Sparta, when injuries are offered to an exalted " character, they seldom fail of exciting his re- " sentment; yet your conduct, insulting as it is, " shall not induce me to transgress against de- " cency. If you are tenacious of the supreme " authority, I may be reasonably more so, who " am master of more forces, and a greater " number of ships: but as you find a difficulty " in

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So that cheese also was amongst the numerous delicacies which Sicily supplied.—*T.*

" in acceding to my terms, I will remit somewhat " of my claims. If you command the land " forces, I will have the conduct of the fleet; " or, if you will direct the latter, I will command " the former. You must be satisfied with one of " these conditions, or be content to depart with- " out my powerful assistance[125]."—Such were the propositions of Gelon.

CLXI. The Athenian envoy, anticipating the Lacedæmonian, answered him thus: " King of " Syracuse, Greece has sent us to you, not want- " ing a leader, but a supply of forces. Such is " your ambition, that unless you are suffered to " command, you will not assist us. When you " first intimated your wish to have the supreme " command of our united forces, we Athenians " listened in silence, well knowing that our La- " cedæmonian ally would return you an answer " applicable

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[125] *My powerful assistance.*]—Ælian, in his Various History, book ix. chap. 5, relates this anecdote of Hiero and Themistocles:

When Hiero appeared at the Olympic games, and would have engaged with his horses in the race, Themistocles prevented him, saying, that he who would not engage in the common danger ought not to have a share in the common festival.

The chronology of this fact is adduced by Bentley, as a convincing argument against the genuineness of the epistles imputed to Themistocles. See Bentley on Phalaris, p. 395. —*T.*

" applicable to us both. As soon as you gave up " this claim, and were satisfied with requiring " the command of the fleet alone, I then thought " it became me to answer you. Know then, that " if the Spartan ambassador would grant you this, " we would not: if the Lacedæmonians refuse the " conduct of the fleet, it devolves of course to " us; we would not dispute it with them, but we " would yield it to nobody else. It would little " avail us to possess the greater part of the mari- " time forces of Greece, if we could suffer the " Syracusans to command them. The Athenians " are the most ancient people of Greece [126], and " we

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[126] *The most ancient people of Greece.*]—The Athenians, in support of their antiquity, assumed many romantic appellations, calling themselves the sons of the earth, χθονιοι, αυτοχθονες, γηγενεις, πηλογονοι, children of clay. See Hesychius at the word γηγενεις. Opposing also these appellations to the fiction of the Ægyptians, concerning the generation of man from the slime and mud of the river Nile, they afterwards, as an emblem of their own fortuitous generation, wore the *cicadæ*, or harvest flies, commonly translated grashoppers, in their hair. Their comic poet, who on no occasion spared his countrymen, makes of this their emblem a happy but sarcastic use, telling them that the cicada, which they pretended to be a symbol of themselves, did really exhibit their faithful picture, they were ανθρωποι ωσπερ παρνοπες, with this only difference, that whereas the cicada only sung upon the boughs for a month or two, they sung away their whole lives in hearing causes; that in short they were σπερμολογοι (See Athenæus, p. 540.) sauntering through the streets to pick up the loose grain which fell from the industrious

" we alone have never changed our country:
" from us was descended that hero, who, ac-
" cording to Homer, of all those who marched
" against Troy*, was the most expert in the
" arrangement and discipline of an army: we
" relate these things with a becoming sense of our
" own importance."

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industrious farmer, to find out a place, απραγμονα, where they had nothing to do. This claim, however, of the Athenians to antiquity was opposed by the Arcadians, who boasted that they existed before the moon, and to keep up this pretence they wore *lunulas* or moons in their shoes, as the Athenians wore the cicada in their hair: they therefore called themselves προσεληνοι; and Strabo, in his eighth book, owns their plea, asserting that the Arcadians were the oldest of all the Grecians.—I cannot help thinking that the Arcadians were called Silen, before they disputed with the Athenians on the subject of antiquity. A principal part of their possessions in Asia were called Salonum, and the cheese there made caseus Salonites, words not unlike to Silenus and Selenitæ. The name also is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan, the Arcadian deity. Silenus, as the Greek language prevailed, might afterwards be changed into *Selenus* or *Selenita*, from the word *Selene*, then better understood, or on purpose to maintain the contest of antiquity, and to account for calling themselves *Prosceni*.—*T.*

* *Troy*.]—There are frequent allusions in Herodotus to the Trojan war. See for example Clio, c. v, this passage and Calliope, c. xxvii.—Xerxes sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva, and paid respect to the memory of the heroes who died at Troy—of course he believed the Trojan war to have existed. The truth I conceive to be this.—That the Trojan war did actually take place, but that the poem of Homer contains a number of fables introduced by the poet as embellishments.—*T.*

CLXII. "Man of Athens," answered Gelon, "it does not appear that you want commanders, "but troops. Since, therefore, you would ob- "tain every thing. and concede nothing, hasten "your departure, and inform Greece that their "year will be without its spring." The meaning of his expression was, that as the spring was the most desirable season of the year, so were his forces with respect to those of Greece; Greece, therefore, destitute of his alliance, would be as a year without its spring.

CLXIII. The Grecian ambassadors, after receiving this answer from Gelon, sailed back again. Gelon afterwards, apprehending that the Greeks must fall before the Barbarian power, and still disdaining, as monarch of Sicily, to be subordinate to the Spartans in the Peloponnese, adopted the following measure:—As soon as he heard that the Persian had passed the Hellespont, he sent three fifty-oared vessels to Delphi, under the conduct of Cadmus, the son of Scythes, of the isle of Cos; he had with him a large sum of money, and a commission of a pacific tendency[127]. They were to observe the issue of the contest: if the Barbarian proved victorious, they

[127] *Pacific tendency.*]—φιλιης λογους, literally "friendly words."

they were to give him earth and water, in token of the submission of those places of which Gelon was prince; if victory fell to the Greeks, they were to return home.

CLXIV. This Cadmus had received from his father, the sovereignty of Cos; and though his situation was free from every species of disquietude, he resigned his authority from the mere love of justice, and retired to Sicily. Here, in conjunction with the Samians, he inhabited Zancle, the name of which place was afterwards changed to Messana[128]. Gelon selected this man, being convinced from his previous conduct, of his inviolable attachment to justice. Among the other instances of rectitude which he exhibited, the following is not the least worthy of admiration: If he had thought proper he might have converted to his own use the wealth with which Gelon intrusted him; but after the victory of the Greeks, and the consequent retreat of Xerxes, he carried all these riches back again to Sicily.

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[128] *Messana.*]—It is by no means certain when this happened: the authorities of Herodotus and Thucydides are contradicted by that of Pausanias. The reader who may wish minutely to investigate this fact; I refer to Larcher's long note to Bentley on Phalaris, page 104, who avails himself of it to detect the forgery of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris; and lastly to d'Orville's Sicula.—*T.*

CLXV. The Sicilians affirm, that Gelon would still have assisted the Greeks, and submitted to serve under the Lacedæmonians, if Terillus, the son of Crinippus, who had been expelled from Himera, where he had exercised the sovereignty, by Theron, son of Æenesidemus, had not at this time brought an army against him. This army was composed of Phœnicians, Africans, Iberians, Ligurians, Helisycians, Sardinians, and Cyrnians, under the command of Amilcar, son of Anno, king of Carthage [129], to the amount of three hundred thousand men. Terillus had conciliated this person, partly from the rites of private hospitality, but principally by the interposition of Anaxilaus, son of Cretineus, king of Rhegium, who had given his children as hostages to Amilcar, to induce him to come to Sicily [130], and revenge the cause of his father-in-law. Anaxilaus had married the daughter of Terillus. whose name was Cydippe: Gelon, from these circumstances being unable to assist the Greeks, sent, as we have described, a sum of money to Delphi.

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[129] *King of Carthage.*]—Larcher remarks, from Polyænus and Cornelius Nepos, that the title of king was frequently given to the Carthaginian generals.

[130] *Come to Sicily.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that Xerxes had made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and that it was in consequence of this that the war here mentioned took place in Sicily.

CLXVI. It is related on the same authority, that Gelon and Theron conquered the Carthaginian Amilcar, in Sicily, on the same day[131], which was remarkable for the victory of the Greeks at Salamis. The father of Amilcar, as they assert, was a Carthaginian, his mother was a native of Syracuse; he had been elevated to the throne of Carthage for his personal virtues. After being vanquished, as we have described, he disappeared, and was never seen afterwards, dead or alive, though Gelon[132] with the most diligent care endeavoured to discover him.

CLXVII. The Carthaginians assert, and with some

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[131] *On the same day.*]—Diodorus Siculus says the same thing, of course these two authors are agreed about the year of the battle of Thermopylæ, and differ only in a few months. Herodotus makes it to have happened in the beginning of the first year of the 75th Olympiad; Diodorus Siculus some months afterwards.

The victory of Gelon did him great honour; but what in my opinion did him more, was, that when he granted peace to the Carthaginians, he stipulated that they should never again sacrifice children to Saturn. Nevertheless, Diodorus Siculus, who mentions this treaty, says nothing of this condition; and it appears from this author, that the barbarous custom above-mentioned still prevailed in the time of Agathocles, that is to say, in the 117th Olympiad.—*Larcher.*

[132] *Though Gelon.*]—If Polyænus may be believed, Gelon very well knew the fate of Amilcar; see lib. i. c. 27. Not daring to face him openly in the field, he destroyed him by a paltry stratagem, when in the act of offering sacrifice.

some probability, that during the contest of the Greeks and Barbarians in Sicily, which, as is reported, continued from morning till the approach of night, Amilcar remained in his camp; here he offered sacrifice to the gods, consuming upon one large pile the entire bodies of numerous victims [133]. As soon as he perceived the retreat of his party, whilst he was in the act of pouring a libation, he threw himself into the flames, and for ever disappeared. Whether, according to the Phœnicians, he vanised in this, or, as the Carthaginians alledge, in some other manner, this last people, in all their colonies, and particularly in Carthage, erected monuments in his honour, and sacrifice to him as a divinity.—Enough perhaps has been said on the affairs of Sicily.

CLXVIII. The conduct of the Corcyreans did not correspond with their professions. The same emissaries who visited Sicily, went also to Corcyra, the people of which place they addressed in the terms they had used to Gelon. To these they received a promise of immediate and powerful assistance: they added, that they could

[133] *Numerous victims.*]—We find Crœsus, in a preceding book, offering up three thousand chosen victims; see book i. chap. 50.

could by no means be indifferent spectators of the ruin of Greece, and they felt themselves impelled to give their aid, from the conviction, that the next step to the conquest of Greece would be their servitude; they would therefore assist to the utmost.—Such was the flattering answer they returned. But when they ought to have fulfilled their engagements, having very different views, they fitted out a fleet of sixty vessels; these were put to sea, though not without difficulty, and sailing towards the Peloponnese, they stationed themselves near Pylos and Tænaros, off the coast of Sparta. * Here they waited the issue of the contest, never imagining that the Greeks would prove victorious, but taking it for granted that the vast power of the Persian would reduce the whole of Greece. They acted in this manner to justify themselves, in addressing the Persian monarch to this effect: "The Greeks, O king, have solicited our assistance, who, after the Athenians, are second "to none in the number as well as strength of "our ships: but we did not wish to oppose your "designs, or to do any thing hostile to your "wishes."

* The treachery of the people of Corcyra had well nigh cost them dear; after the war the Greeks would have exterminated them, but Themistocles represented to them, that if they were to destroy all the cities which had not been in alliance with them, Greece would sustain greater injury than if the Persians had conquered their country.—*Larcher.*

" wishes." By this language they hoped to obtain more favourable conditions; in which they do not to me appear to have been at all unreasonable: they had previously concerted their excuse to the Greeks. When the Greeks reproached them for withholding the promised succour, they replied that they had absolutely fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes; but that the north-east winds would not suffer them to pass the promontory of Malea: and that it was this accident alone, not any want of zeal, which prevented their arrival at Salamis till after the battle. It was thus they attempted to delude the Greeks.

CLXIX. The Cretans being in like manner solicited by the Grecian envoys to assist the common cause, determined to consult the oracle at Delphi about the expediency of such a measure: " Inconsiderate as you are," replied the priestess, " has not Minos given you sufficient " cause to regret the part you took with respect " to Menelaus? The Greeks refused to re- " venge the murder of Minos[134], at Camicus, " though

[134] *Minos.*]—The Cretans had sent some forces to the Trojan war, under the conduct of Idomeneus and Merion. Idomeneus was a descendant of Minos, and at his death the government of the family of Minos ceased. Minos expelled from Crete the Rhadamanes; see the Dionysiaca of Nonnus,

" though you assisted them to punish the rape of " a Spartan woman by a Barbarian." This answer

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cited by Meursius, p. 120. Those who settled with Minos at Crete, are the first whom the Grecian history records for their power and dominion at sea; he extended his jurisdiction to the coasts of Caria on the one hand, and to the cities of Greece on the other; using his power with moderation and justice, and employing it against those lawless rovers and pirates who infested the neighbouring islands, and in the protection and support of the injured and distressed. If he be represented in worse colours by some authors, the painting is the hand of one who copied from those, whose rapine and oppression had provoked and felt his resentment. Minos was no less renowned for his arms abroad, than for his polity and good government at home; he is said to have framed a body of laws, under the direction of Jupiter, for his subjects of Crete, and, though this may have the air of a romance, invented, as such reports were, to give the better sanction to his laws, yet it is confessed, says Strabo, that Crete in ancient times was so well governed, that the best states of Greece, especially the Spartan, did not disdain to transcribe many of its laws, and to form the plan of their government according to this model. Lycurgus retired into Crete, and transcribed its laws.—*Meursius*, p. 162; they related principally to military points. A. Gellius records one instance of this agreement of the military sort, in giving the onset to battle, l. i. c. 11.; there are many others in Meursius. Besides Plato and Ephorus, mentioned by Strabo, we may add Xenophon and Polybius, bearing their witness to what I have above said of the ancient Cretans character. As it was gained by, so it fell with, the descendants of Minos; for when the Carians had expelled the former, and were become masters of the island, as Diodorus Siculus supposes that they did soon after the Trojan war (book v. at the end) Crete became a den of tyrants, and a nest of pirates, as

answer induced the Cretans to refuse their assistance.

CLXX. It is said that Minos coming to Sicania, now called Sicily, in search of Dædalus[135], perished

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as infamous for their thefts and injustice, as the Eteocretans had been famous for their opposite virtues.—*T.*

[135] *Dædalus.*]—Diodorus Siculus gives the following account of Dædalus, book iv. c. 76.

Dædalus was an Athenian, of the family of Erectheus; he was eminently skilful as an architect, as a statuary and engraver. He had arrived at so great excellence, that his posterity boasted of his figures, that they appeared to see and to move like human beings. He was the first who formed eyes to his figures, and represented the limbs and arms correctly and distinctly. Before his time artists made the eyes of their figures closed, the hands suspended close to the sides. His nephew Talos was his pupil, whose ingenuity so excited his envy and jealousy that he killed him: for this he was condemned to death by the Areopagus, but flying to Crete, his talents procured him great reputation, and the friendship of Minos. This he forfeited from using his art to gratify the preposterous passion of Pasiphae, the wife of Minos; whence the story of the birth of the Minotaur. He consequently fled from hence with his son Icarus, who gave his name to the sea where he perished. Dædalus went to Sicily, where he was received and entertained by Cocalus; Minos pursued him with a numerous fleet, he landed in the territory of Agrigentum, and sent to Cocalus to demand Dædalus. Cocalus invited him to a conference, promised to give Dædalus up, and offered him the rites of hospitality; after which he suffocated Minos in a hot bath.

It has been disputed, whether with the assistance of Dædalus, Minos was not the inventor of the labyrinth. The

perished by a violent death [136]. Not long afterwards, actuated as it were by some divine impulse, all the Cretans in a body, except the Polichnites and the Præsians, passed over with a great fleet to Sicania, and for five years laid close siege to Camicus, which was inhabited even to my time by the Agrigentines. Unable either to take the place or continue the siege, they were compelled by famine to retire; a furious tempest attacked them off the coast of Iapygia, and drove them ashore. As their vessels were destroyed, and

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credit of the invention is by Pliny assigned to the Ægyptian; Ovid very prettily compares the winding of the Cretan labyrinth to the course of the Meander, l. viii. 160.

> Non secus ac liquidus Phrygiis Mæandros in arvis
> Ludit, et ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque,
> Occurrensque sibi venturas aspicit undas;
> Et nunc ad fontes, nunc in mare versus apertum
> Incertas exercet aquas. Ita Dædalus implet
> Innumeras errore vias, &c. *T.*

[136] *Violent death.*]—Zenobius affirms, that whilst he was at the bath, the daughter of Cocalus killed him, by pouring boiling pitch upon him. Diodorus Siculus says, that Cocalus having permitted him to do what he wished, and offering him the rites of hospitality, suffocated him in a bath, of which the water was too hot. Pausanias says nothing of the kind of death which Minos died; he satisfies himself with saying, that the daughters of Cocalus were so pleased with Dædalus on account of his ingenuity, that to oblige him, they resolved to destroy Minos. The violent death of this prince induced Sophocles to write a tragedy, called Minos, as appears from Clemens Alexandrinus or Camicoi, as we find in Athenæus.—*Larcher.*

and they were unable to return to Crete, they remained there, and built the town of Hyria. Instead of Cretans they took the name of Messapian Iapyges[137], and from being islanders they became inhabitants of the continent. From Hyria they sent out several colonies; with these, the Tarentines being afterwards engaged in the most destructive hostilities, received the severest defeat we ever remember to have heard related. The Tarentines were not on this occasion the only sufferers; the people of Rhegium, who had been instigated by Mycithus, son of Chœrus, to assist the Tarentines, sustained a loss of three thousand men; the particular loss of the Tarentines has not been recorded. Micythus had been one of the domestics of Anaxilaus, and had been

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[137] *Iapyges.*]—So called from Iapyx, the name of the son of Dædalus. Iapyx was also the name of the Western wind. See Horace:

> Obstrictis aliis præter Iapyga
> Ventis.

Again,

> Ego quid sit ater
> Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
> Peccet Iapyx.

The particulars of the battle, mentioned in the subsequent part of the chapter, may be found at length in Diodorus Siculus, book ii. chap. 52.

been left to take care of Rhegium; being driven thence, he resided afterwards at Tegea in Arcadia, and consecrated a great number of statues [138] in Olympia.

CLXXI. My remarks concerning the people of Rhegium and Tarentum, have interrupted the thread of my narration. Crete being thus left without inhabitants, the Præsians say, that various emigrants resorted there, of whom the greater number were Greeks. In the third age after the death of Minos, happened the Trojan war, in which the Cretans were no contemptible allies to Menelaus. On their return from Troy, and as some have asserted as a punishment for the part they had taken, a severe pestilence and famine destroyed them and their cattle; they who survived, were joined by others who migrated to them, and thus was Crete a third time peopled. By recalling these incidents to their remembrance, the Pythian checked their inclination to assist the Greeks.

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[138] *Great number of statues.*]—These are specified in Pausanias; they consisted of the statues of Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, by the hand of Glaucus, an Argive: there were also Proserpine, Venus, Ganymede, Diana, Homer, and Hesiod; next these were Æsculapius and Hygeia, with Agon. These with many others were given by Micythus, in consequence of a vow made on account of his son, who was afflicted with a dangerous disease.—*T.*

CLXXII. The Thessalians were from the beginning compelled to take the part of the Medes, taking care to shew their dislike of the conduct of the Aleuadæ. As soon as they heard that the Persian had passed over into Europe, they sent deputies to the isthmus, where were assembled the public counsellors of Greece, deputed from those states which were most zealous to defend their country. On their arrival the Thessalian deputies thus spake: "Men of Greece, it "will be necessary to defend the Olympic straits, "for the common security of Thessaly, and of "all Greece. We on our parts are ready to "assist in this, but you must also send a con-"siderable body of forces, which if you omit "to do, we shall undoubtedly make our terms "with the Persian. It cannot be just that we, "who from our situation are more immediately "exposed to danger, should perish alone on "your account. If you refuse to assist us, you "cannot expect us to exert ourselves for you. "Our inability to resist will justify our conduct, "and we shall endeavour to provide for our own "security."

CLXXIII. The Greeks in consequence determined to send a body of infantry by sea to defend these straits. As soon as their forces were ready they passed the Euripus. Arriving at

at Alus, in Achaia*, they disembarked, and proceeded towards Thessaly. They advanced to Tempe, to the passage which connects the lower parts of Macedonia with Thessaly, near the river Peneus, betwixt Olympus and Ossa; here they encamped, to the number of ten thousand heavy armed troops, and they were joined by the Thessalian horse. The Lacedæmonians were led by Evænetus, son of Carenus, one of the Polemarchs [139], though not of the blood-royal. Themistocles, son of Neocles, commanded the Athenians. Here they remained but a few days; for Alexander, son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, sent to them, recommending their retreat, from their total inability to make any stand against the land and sea forces of the enemy, whose numbers he explained. The Greeks thinking the advice

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* *In Achaia.*]—Achaia means here Phthiotis, in Thessaly.—See *Strabo*, b. ix.

[139] *One of the Polemarchs.*]—The Polemarch seems to have had separate and distinct duties in peace and in war; in peace, as I have elsewhere observed, it was his business to superintend the strangers resident in Sparta, as well as to see to the maintenance of the children of those who died in the public service.

In war he seems to have been a kind of aid-de-camp to the king, and to have communicated his orders to the troops. We may presume, from what Herodotus says in the conclusion of the paragraph, that the Polemarchs were generally of the blood-royal.—*T.*

advice reasonable, and the Macedonian amicable towards them, regulated their conduct by it. I am rather inclined to impute the part they acted to their fears, being informed that there was another passage into Thessaly, through the country of the Perrhæbi, in the higher region of Macedonia, near the city Gonnos, and through this the army of Xerxes did actually pass. The Greeks retired to their ships, and returned to the isthmus.

CLXXIV. This expedition to Thessaly was undertaken when Xerxes was preparing to pass into Europe, and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, forsaken by their allies, lost no time in treating with the Medes; they entered warmly into the king's affairs, and proved themselves remarkably useful.

CLXXV. The Greeks, after their return to the isthmus, in consequence of the advice of Alexander, called a council to deliberate how and where they should commence hostilities. It was ultimately determined to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, as being not only narrower than those of Thessaly, but also within a less distance. Of that other approach by which the Greeks at Thermopylæ were surprized, they had not the smallest knowledge, till, having arrived there, they were shewn it by the Trachinians. To prevent

vent the advance of the Barbarians to Greece, they undertook to guard this passage: they resolved to send their fleet to Artemisium on the coast of Histiæotis. These places are so contiguous, that a communication betwixt the two armaments was extremely easy.

CLXXVI. The above places may be thus described:—Artemisium *, beginning from the Thracian sea, gradually contracts itself into a narrow strait betwixt the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. Artemisium meets the coast at the straits of Eubœa, and here is a temple of Diana. The entrance into Greece by the way of Trachis is in its narrowest part half a plethrum; compared with the rest of the country, the part most contracted lies before and behind Thermopylæ [140]: behind, near the Alpeni, there is room only

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* *Artemisium.*]—According to this description, Artemisium is the name of the whole sea, from Sepias to the Cenæan promontory.

[140] *Thermopylæ.*]—An excellent plan of the straits of Thermopylæ, as they at present appear, may be seen in the charts of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. The description which Livy gives of them has been greatly admired.—See liber xxxvi. c. 15.

"Extremos ad orientem montes Œtam vocant; quorum quod altissimum est, Callidromon appellatur, in cujus valle ad Maliacum sinum vergente iter est non latius quam LX passus. Hæc una militaris via est, qua traduci exercitus, si

non

only for a single carriage; before, near the river Phœnix, by the town of Anthela, the dimensions of the passage are the same. To the west of Thermopylæ, is a steep and inaccessible mountain, which extends as far as Œta; to the east, it is bounded by the shoals and by the sea. In these straits, there are warm-baths which the natives call Chytri, near which is an altar sacred to Hercules. The place was formerly defended by a wall and by gates: the wall was built by the Phoceans, through fear of the Thessalians, who came from Thesprotia to establish themselves in Æolia, where they now reside. The Thessalians endeavouring to expel them, the Phoceans erected the wall to protect them; and, to make the place marshy and impassable, they suffered the above-mentioned warm springs to empty themselves, using every expedient to prevent the incursions of the Thessalians. The wall had in a great measure mouldered away from length of time:

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non prohibeantur possint. Ideo Pylæ, et ab aliis, quia calidæ aquæ in ipsis faucibus sunt, Thermopylæ locus appellatur, nobilis Lacedæmoniorum adversus Persas morte magis memorabili quam pugnâ."

The gates of public buildings were called by the Greeks θυρεαι, the gates of cities πυλαι.—See Suidas at the word πυλαι. See also Perizonius's note to Ælian, book iii. c. 25.

" The narrow entrance of Greece," says Mr. Gibbon, describing the march of Alaric into Greece, " was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher."—*T.*

time: it was repaired, because it was here determined to repel the Barbarian from Greece. In the vicinity is a place called Alpeni, which the Greeks made a repository for their provisions.

CLXXVII. The Greeks from every consideration deemed this place the most eligible. After much cautious inspection and deliberation, they concluded that the Barbarians could not here avail themselves either of their numbers or their cavalry; here therefore they determined to receive the disturber of their country. As soon as they were informed of his arrival in Pieria, they left the isthmus; the land forces proceeding to Thermopylæ, the fleet to Artemisium.

CLXXVIII. Whilst the Greeks, according to the resolutions of their council, resorted to their several stations, the Delphians, anxious for themselves and for Greece, consulted the oracle. They were directed, in reply, to address themselves to the winds, for they would prove the best allies of Greece. The Delphians lost no time in communicating this answer to those Greeks who were zealous for their liberty, and who greatly dreading the Barbarian, thought it deserved their everlasting gratitude. An altar was immediately erected, and sacrifice offered to the winds in Thyia, where there is a temple in honour

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of Thyia, daughter of Cephissus[141], from whom the place has its name. In consequence of the above oracle, the Delphians to this day supplicate the winds.

CLXXIX. The fleet of Xerxes moving from Therma, dispatched ten of their swiftest sailing vessels to Sciathus, where were three guardships of the Greeks, of Trœzene, Ægina, and Athens. These, on sight of the Barbarian vessels, immediately fled.

CLXXX. The Barbarians, after a pursuit, took the Trœzenian vessel commanded by Praxinus. The most valiant of the crew they sacrificed on the prow of the ship, thinking it a favourable omen that their first Greek capture was of no mean distinction. The name of the man

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[141] *Thyia, daughter of Cephissus.*]—Larcher quotes from Pausanias the following passage:

"Others say that Castalius, a native of the country, had a daughter named Thyia; she was priestess of Bacchus, and was the first who celebrated orgies in honour of that god. From this time, all those were called Thyiades, who became frantic in honour of this god. They say also that Delphus was the son of that Thyia by Apollo; others again say that the mother of Delphus was Melæna, the daughter of Cephissus."

Strabo and Plutarch discerned a great affinity and likeness between the frantic rites of Cybele, the orgia of Bacchus, and the mysteries of Pan.—*T.*

man they slew was Leon, and to his name perhaps he owed his fate.

CLXXXI. The vessel of Ægina occasioned the enemy more trouble; it was commanded by Asonides, and among its warriors was Pythes[142], son of Ischenous, who on that day greatly distinguished himself. When his ship was taken, he persevered in his resistance, till he was cut in pieces: at length he fell, but, as he discovered some signs of life, the Persians, in admiration of his valour, made every possible effort to preserve him, bathing his wounds with myrrh, and applying to them bandages of cotton[143]. On their return

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[142] *Pythes.*]—Bellanger in a long note endeavours to prove that it should be Pytheas, and not Pythes. To all his arguments I am satisfied to oppose the learned authority of Longinus, who writes the nominative case Pythes.—*Larcher.*

[143] *Bandages of cotton.*]—I have proved in another place, that Byssus was cotton. A very learned man has objected to me, that as the tree which produces cotton was not cultivated in Ægypt, in the time of Prosper Alpinus, except in gardens, it must necessarily, in the time of Herodotus, have been still more uncommon; which induces him to believe, with father Hardouin, that it is a species of fine linen. This does not to me seem conclusive. It may be reasonably supposed that the floods may in a great degree have destroyed that plant, and particularly since Ægypt is become barbarous (devenue barbare.) This may be one cause of its scarcity in the time of Prosper Alpinus, and does not prove to me that it was scarce in the time of Herodotus, or even before his time. According to my interpretation, the Persians

return to their camp, they exhibited him to the whole army as a man deserving universal esteem; whilst they treated the rest of the crew as vile slaves.

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sians bound the wounds of Pythes with cotton; we in similar cases use lint: but the Ægyptians at this day use lint of cotton for wounds and sores.—*Larcher.*

I do not know whether what I have to offer, in contradiction to M. Larcher's opinion on this subject, may be thought satisfactory, but I think that it merits the attention of the English reader. I have before observed, that the finest linen of Ægypt was of a very coarse nature, of whatever it was composed; and I find in Ezekiel, xxii. 7. the following verse:

ΒΥΣΣΟΣ *μετα ποικιλιας* ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ *εγενετο τοι ςρωμνη, τȣ περιθειναι σοι δοξαν, ϗ περιβαλειν σε ὑακινθον και πορφυραν εκ των νησων* Ελεισαι, *και εγενετο περιβολαια σȣ.* Which is thus rendered by our translators:

Fine linen with broidered work from Ægypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elisha was that which covered thee.

That Βυσσος is properly expressed by the word linen, I believe; but why it should be rendered fine linen, I am at a loss to imagine. We are expressly told that it was used for sail-cloth, and was probably of a substance equally coarse with that mentioned by Virgil:

Usum in castrorum aut miseris velamina nautis. *T.*

Cotton seems to derive its name from the fruit in Crete called by Pliny mala cotonea, or cydonia, lib. xv. c. 11; it is distinguished by other names, bombax, bambox, gossipium xylon, the cloth made of it bissos. Ferunt cotonei mali amplitudine cucurbitas, quæ maturitate ruptæ ostendunt lanuginis pilas, ex quibus vestes pretioso linteo faciunt. Pliny, lib. xii. c. 10.—*Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 13.

CLXXXII. Two of the vessels being thus taken, the third, commanded by Phormus, an Athenian, in its endeavour to escape, went ashore at the mouth of the Peneus. The Barbarians took the ship, but not its crew. The Athenians got on shore, and proceeding through Thessaly, arrived safe at Athens. The Greeks stationed at Artemisium were made acquainted with the above event by signals of fire from Sciathus. They instantly retired in alarm to Chalcis, with the view of guarding the Euripus. They did not however omit to place daily centinels on the heights of Eubœa.

CLXXXIII. Three of the ten Barbarian vessels sailed to the rock called Myrmex, between Sciathus and Magnesia. Here they erected a column, with stones which they brought with them for that purpose. They spent eleven days* on this cruize, after the king's departure from Therma, being conducted safe with respect to this rock by Pammos the Scyrian. Sailing from the above place, they in one day passed along the coast of Magnesia to Sepias, on the shore which

* I have always, observes Major Rennel, considered this passage as either corrupted or mutilated; perhaps the grand fleet was eleven days on its passage from Therma to the coast of Magnesia, and from thence one day to Sepias.

which lies betwixt the town of Casthanæ and the coast of Sepias.

CLXXXIV. Thus far, and to Thermopylæ, the army of Xerxes met with no misfortune. The number of the vessels which left Asia amounted, if my calculations have not deceived me, to twelve hundred and seven. The complement of the crews by which they were originally [144] manned, was two hundred forty-one thousand four hundred, composed of the different auxiliaries, and allowing two hundred men to each vessel: to these, independent of their own proper crews *, are to be added thirty of either Persians, Medes, or Sacæ. The whole number of these last was thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten: to the above are also to be added those who were on board the vessels of fifty oars, to which we may allow at the rate of eighty men to each. The whole number therefore of these will be found to have been three thousand,

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[144] *Originally.*]—That is, I suppose, without the troops which the king added to his armament in progress from Asia to Europe.

* This last description of men may, perhaps, be considered in the nature of marines; and it is worthy of remark, that the proportion of them to the rest of the crew, does not differ much from the proportion of marines to our crews in these times.—*Rennel*, p. 254.

thousand, and of the men two hundred and forty thousand. Thus the fleet which left Asia was composed of five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. The infantry consisted of seventeen hundred thousand men; the number of the cavalry was eighty thousand. The Arabians with their camels, and the Africans in their chariots, were twenty thousand more. The above was the armament which left Asia; to make no mention of the menial attendants, the transports which carried the provisions, and their crews.

CLXXXV. To these are still to be added all those troops which were brought from Europe; of the precise number of which we can only speak from opinion. The Greeks of Thrace, and of the islands contiguous, furnished one hundred and twenty vessels, the crews of which amounted to twenty-four thousand men: a body of land forces was also provided by the Thracians, Pæonians, the Eordi, Bottiæans[145], Chalcidians,

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[145] *Bottiæans.*]—The Bottiæans were of Athenian origin, and, according to Aristotle, from those children whom the Athenians sent to Minos in Crete by way of tribute. These children grew old in that island, gaining their livelihood by the labour of their hands. The Cretans, in compliance with some vow, sent to Delphi the first-fruits of their citizens, to whom they added these descendants of the Athenians. As

cidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhæbians, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achæans, and the other people who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace. The amount of all these was I believe three hundred thousand men. These collectively, added to the Asiatic forces, make two millions six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

CLXXXVI. Great as the number of these forces was, the number of the menial attendants, of the crews on board the transports carrying the provisions, and of the other vessels following the fleet, was I believe still greater. I will however suppose them equal. Thus it will appear that Xerxes son of Darius conducted to Sepias and to Thermopylæ an army consisting of five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men.

CLXXXVII. The above was the aggregate of the troops of Xerxes: as to the women who prepared the bread, the concubines and eunuchs, no one has ever attempted to ascertain their number.

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they could not subsist there, they went to Italy, and established themselves in Iapygia; from hence they went to Thrace, where they took the name of Bottiæans.—*Larcher.*

ber. The baggage-waggons also, the beasts of burden, and the Indian dogs, which accompanied the army, defy all computation. We can hardly be surprised that the waters of some rivers were exhausted; but we may reasonably wonder how provision could be supplied to so vast a multitude. According to a calculation made by myself, if each of the above number had only a chænix of corn a day, there would every day be consumed [146] ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni [147]. Neither does this computation comprehend the quantity allowed to the women, eunuchs, cattle, and dogs. Among all these myriads of men, with respect

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[146] *Every day be consumed.*]—Maitland, who I believe is generally allowed to be a faithful and accurate historian, furnishes us with a table of the quantity of cattle consumed annually in London, above thirty years ago, when that city was far less populous than it is at present:

Beeves - - - -	98,244
Calves - - - -	194,760
Hogs - - - -	186,932
Pigs - - - -	52,000
Sheep and Lambs - -	711,123

The most inquisitive calculators seem now to agree in allowing, upon an average, to the metropolis near a million of inhabitants.—*T.*

[147] *Medimni.*]—There were forty-eight chenices in one medimnus; according therefore to the calculation of Herodotus, there ought to have been 5,296,320 men. There is of course a mistake either in the number of medimni or of the troops.

respect to grace and dignity of person [148], no one better deserved the supreme command than Xerxes himself.

CLXXXVIII. The vessels of the fleet, after their arrival on the coast of Magnesia, betwixt the town of Casthanæa and the shores of Sepias, there stationed themselves, the foremost drawing close to land, the others lying on their anchors behind. As the shore was of no great extent, the fleet was ranged in eight regular divisions, with their heads towards the main sea, in which situation they passed the night. On the approach of day, the sky and the sea, which had before been serene, were violently disturbed: a furious storm arose, attended with a violent squall of wind from the East [149], which the inhabitants of

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[148] *Grace and dignity of person.*—

Through all the nations which ador'd his pride
Or fear'd his power, the monarch now was pass'd;
Nor yet among these millions could be found
One who in beauteous feature might compare,
Or towering size, with Xerxes. Oh possess'd
Of all but virtue, doom'd to shew how mean,
How weak, without her is unbounded power,
The charm of beauty, and the blaze of state;
How insecure of happiness, how vain! *Glover.*

[149] *From the east.*]—Apeliotes, called also Solanus and Subsolanus. The ancients originally used only the four cardinal winds; they afterwards added four more. The

of these parts call an Hellespontian wind. They who foresaw that the tempest would still increase,

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Romans increased them to twenty-four, and the moderns have added to the four cardinal, twenty-eight collateral winds. The annexed table may probably be useful to many of my readers.

Names of the winds, and points of the compass.

English.	*Latin and Greek.*
1 NORTH - - - - -	1 SEPTENTRIO or BOREAS.
2 North by East - - -	2 Hyperboreas, Hypaquilo, Gallicus.
3 North, North East -	3 Aquilo.
4 North East by North -	4 Mesoboreas, Mesaquilo, Supernas.
5 NORTH EAST - - -	5 ARCTAPELIOTES, BORAPELIOTES, GRÆCUS.
6 North East by East -	6 Hypocæsias.
7 East North East - -	7 Cæsias, Hellespontius.
8 East by North - - -	8 Mesocæsias.
9 EAST - - - - - -	9 SOLANUS, SUBSOLANUS, APELIOTES.
10 East by South - - -	10 Hypeurus, or Hypereurus.
11 East South East - -	11 Eurus or Volturnus.
12 South East by East -	12 Meseurus.
13 SOUTH EAST - - -	13 NOTAPELIOTES, EURASTER
14 South East by South -	14 Hypophœnix.
15 South, South East - -	15 Phœnix, Phœnicias, Leuconotus, Gangeticus.
16 South by East - - -	16 Mesophœnix.
17 SOUTH - - - - -	17 AUSTER, NOTUS, MERIDIES.
18 South by West - - -	18 Hypolibonotus, Alsanus.
19 South, South West -	19 Libonotus, Notolybicus, Austro-Africus.

20 South

crease, and whose situation was favourable, prevented the effects of the storm, by drawing their vessels ashore, and with them preserved their own persons: of those whom the hurricane surprized farther out at sea, some were driven to the straits of Pelion, termed the Ipnoi, others went on shore; some were dashed against the promontory of Sepias, others carried to Melibœa and Casthanæa, so severe was the tempest.

CLXXXIX. It is asserted, that the Athenians being advised by some oracle to solicit the assistance of their son-in-law, invoked in a solemn manner

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20	South West by South -	20 Mesolibonotus.
21	South West - - -	21 Notozephyrus, Notolibycus, Africus.
22	South West by West -	22 Hypolibs, Hypafricus, Subvesperus.
23	West South West - -	23 Libs.
24	West by South - - -	24 Mesolibs, Mesozephyrus.
25	West - - - - - -	25 Zephyrus, Favonius, Occidens.
26	West by North - - -	26 Hypargestes, Hypocorus.
27	West North West - -	27 Argestes, Caurus, Corus, Iapyx.
28	North West by West -	28 Mesargestes, Mesocorus.
29	North West - - -	29 Zephyro-Boreas, Borolibycus, Olympias.
30	North West by North -	30 Hypocircius, Hypothrascias, Scirem.
31	North, North West -	31 Circius, Thrascias.
32	North by West - - -	32 Mesocircius.

manner the aid of Boreas[150]. Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks, married Orithya, an Athenian female, daughter of Erectheus: from this, if fame may be believed, the Athenians were induced to consider Boreas as their son-in-law; and during their station off the Eubœan Chalcis to watch the motions of the enemy, they sacrificed to Boreas and Orithya, invoking their interposition to destroy the Barbarian fleet, as they had before done near mount Athos. I will not presume to say, that in consequence of their supplications, Boreas dispersed the Barbarian fleet; but the Athenians do not scruple to affirm, that Boreas, who had before been favourable to them, repeated his efforts to assist them on this occasion.—They afterwards erected a shrine to Boreas on the banks of the Ilissus.

CXC. In this storm, according to the lowest calculation, four hundred vessels were totally lost, with an infinite number of men, and a prodigious treasure. Aminocles son of Cratinus, a Magnesian,

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[150] *Boreas.*]—Astræus had by Aurora four sons, Argestes, Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus. Some have taken Boreas for a wind, others for a prince of Thrace. This Boreas went to Thrace in Attica, from whence he carried Orithya, daughter of Erectheus. By this marriage he became son-in-law to Erectheus, and the Athenians consequently considered him as their ally, calling him their son-in-law also.—*Larcher.*

nesian, who had an estate near Sepias, reaped afterwards very considerable advantage from this tempest; many vessels of gold and silver were thrown by the tides upon his lands; he became master also of various Persian treasures, and an immense quantity of gold. Although this incident rendered him affluent, he was in other respects unfortunate, having by some calamity been deprived of his children [151].

CXCI. The loss of the provision-transports, and of the other smaller vessels, was too great to be ascertained. The naval commanders, apprehending that the Thessalians would take this opportunity to attack them, intrenched themselves within a rampart made of the wrecks of the vessels. For three days the storm was unabated; on the fourth, the magi appeased its violence

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[151] *Of his children.*]—This passage has occasioned great perplexity; but Palmerius in his Exercitationes has removed every difficulty, and satisfactorily done away the effects of Plutarch's perverse misconception. Plutarch abuses Herodotus for introducing this circumstance of the affluence of Aminocles, and the means by which he obtained it, merely for an opportunity of saying that he had killed his son.

Plutarch of course refers the word παιδοκτονος to Aminocles; but, as Palmerius observes, by referring the word παιδοκτονος, not to the man, but to his συμφορη (calamity) every difficulty is removed, and no imputation of malignity can be attached to our historian.—*T.*

lence by human victims, and incantations to the wind, as well as by sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereids, unless perhaps the tempest ceased of itself. They sacrificed to Thetis, having learned from the Ionians that it was from this coast she had been carried away by Peleus, and that all the district of Sepias [152] was sacred to her in common with the other Nereids. It is certain, that on the fourth day the tempest [153] ceased.

CXCII. Their centinels, who were every day stationed on the heights of Eubœa, did not fail to acquaint the Greeks with all the circumstances of the storm, on the morning which followed. As soon as they received this intelligence, after paying their vows, and offering libations to Neptune Servator, they hastily returned to Artemisium, hoping to find but few of the enemy's vessels. Thus a second time they fixed their station at Artemisium, near the temple of Neptune

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[152] *Sepias.*]—This coast was sacred to Thetis, because that goddess, desirous of eluding the pursuit of Peleus, changed herself in this place into a kind of sea-fish, which the Greeks call Σηπια (Sepia.) This story gave the name of Sepias to this coast and promontory.—*Larcher.*

[153] *The tempest.*]—Twenty-four miles to the south-east of Larissa is Volo, said to be Pagasæ, where the poets say the ship Argo was built. Near it is Aphetæ, from which place they say the Argonauts sailed. The south-east corner of this land is the old promontory Sepias, where five hundred sail of Xerxes' fleet were shipwrecked in a storm.—*Pococke.*

tune surnamed Servator, which appellation, given on the above occasion, is still retained.

CXCIII. The Barbarians, as soon as they perceived the wind subside and the sea calm, again ventured from the shore. Coasting along, they doubled the Magnesian promontory, and made their way directly to the gulph leading to Pagasæ. It was in this gulph of Magnesia that Hercules, going on shore from the Argo [154] to procure water, was deserted by Jason and his companions, who were bound to Æa of Colchis to obtain the golden fleece. Having taken in water, they sailed from hence; in commemoration of which incident, the place afterward took the name of Aphetæ.

CXCIV. Here also it was that the fleet of Xerxes came to an anchor. Fifteen of these, being at a considerable distance from their companions, discovered the vessels of the Greeks at Artemisium, and mistaking them for friends, sailed into the midst of them. The leader of these ships was Sardoces, son of Thamasias, the governor of Cyma, in Æolia. This man Darius had formerly condemned to the punishment of the cross; he had been one of the royal judges, and

[154] *Argo.*]—See book iv. c. 179. Note *Bryant*, ii. 490, 491.

and convicted of corruption in his office. He was already on the cross, when the king, reflecting that his services to the royal family exceeded his offences, and that he himself had in the present instance acted with more impetuosity than prudence, commanded him to be taken down. Thus he escaped the punishment to which Darius had condemned him; his escape now from the Greeks was altogether impossible; they saw him sailing towards them, and perceiving his error attacked and took him and his vessels.

CXCV. In one of these vessels was Aridolis, prince of the Alabandians of Caria; in another, Penthylus, son of Demonous, a Paphian general. This latter left Paphos with twelve vessels, eleven of which were lost in the storm off Sepias; he himself, with the twelfth, fell into the enemy's hands, at Artemisium. The Greeks, having obtained such information as they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, sent their prisoners in chains to the isthmus of Corinth.

CXCVI. Except the above fifteen vessels, commanded by Sardoces, the whole of the Barbarian fleet arrived at Aphetæ. Xerxes with his land forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, came on the third day to the territories of the Melians. Whilst he was in Thessaly he made a trial of his cavalry against those of the Thessalians,

Thessalians, which he had heard were the best in Greece; but in this contest the inferiority of the Greeks [155] was evidently conspicuous. The Onochonus was the only river in Thessaly which did not

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[155] *The inferiority of the Greeks.*]—The best cavalry in the world attended Xerxes on this expedition, namely those of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Hecatonymus tells Xenophon, in the fifth book of the Anabasis, that the cavalry of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians was better and more expert in martial exercises than any other which the king of Persia had. That part of Cappadocia which Herodotus calls Cilicia paid as a tribute to the kings of Persia a horse for every day in the year. Strabo says, that Cappadocia sent 1500 horses annually. The boast of Hecatonymus to Xenophon was by no means vain; the same preference was given them by others, and excellent commanders. Plutarch informs us, that on these Crassus the Roman general chiefly relied; and with these surprising feats of gallantry were performed in the Parthian war. Lucullus also had these in his army at the siege of Tigranocerta; and in the battle with Tigranes made choice of them and the Thracian horse to attack the Cataphracts, the choicest of the enemy's cavalry, and to drive them from the ground. Tigranes is said to have opposed Lucullus with an army of 55,000 horse; and many other instances may be adduced to shew that the chief strength of these northern powers consisted in their cavalry.

The curious reader may compare Plutarch's account of the army of Tigranes with that which Ezekiel gives of the army of Magog.

Claudian, in Laud. Serenæ, tells us it was customary to have a breed from a Phrygian mare by a Cappadocian horse:

Delectus equorum
Quos Phrygiæ matres Argæaque gramina pastæ,
Semine Cappadocum sacris præsepibus edunt. *T.*

not afford sufficient water for the army. Of those of Achaia, the Apidanus, the greatest of them all, hardly sufficed.

CXCVII. Whilst Xerxes was proceeding to Alos, an Achaian city, his guides, anxious to tell him every thing, related what was reported by the natives concerning the temple of Jupiter Laphystius[156]. It was said that Athamas, the son of Æolus, in concert with Ino, contrived the death of Phrixus. The Achaians, following the command of the oracle, forbade the eldest of the descendants of Athamas ever to enter their prytaneum, called by them Leitus. They were very vigilant in seeing this restriction observed, and whoever was detected within the proscribed limits could only leave them to be sacrificed. There were several who in terror escaped into another country,

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[156] *Jupiter Laphystius.*]—It was to this deity that Phrixus sacrificed the ram upon which he was saved; and even to this day, says the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, one of the descendants of Phrixus enters the prytaneum according to the established law, and offers sacrifices to this god. At twenty stadia from Ceroneus was mount Laphystius, where was a mound consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius: there is still seen in this place a marble statue of this god. Phrixus and Helle being on the point of being sacrificed in this place by Athamas, they say that Jupiter sent them a ram whose fleece was gold, upon which they saved themselves.

Jupiter surnamed Laphystius was, according to Kuhnius, the protector of fugitives.—*Larcher.*

country, when they were on the point of being sacrificed. If they ever afterward returned, they were, if discovered, instantly sent to the prytaneum. To the above, the guides of Xerxes added the description of the sacrifice, the ceremony of binding the victim with ribbands, with all other circumstances. The posterity of Cytissorus, the son of Phrixus, are subject to the above, because Cytissorus himself, in his way from Æa of Colchis, delivered Athamas from the hands of the Achæans, who by the direction of the oracle were about to offer him as an expiatory sacrifice. On this account, the anger of the divinity fell upon the posterity of Cytissorus. In consequence of hearing the above narrative, Xerxes, when he approached the precincts of the grove, cautiously avoided it himself, and commanded all his army [157] to do the same. He shewed

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[157] *All his army.*]—See on this subject Bryant, vol. ii. 40, 41, &c.—This writer supposes, and his opinion is confirmed by Suidas, that the prutaneion is derived from πυρ, fire: the words of Suidas are these: πρυτανειον, πυρος ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ. The Scholiast upon Thucydides talks to the same purpose: αλλοι δε φασιν οτι το πρυτανειον πυρος ην ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ. Others tell us that the prutaneion was of old called *puros tameion*, from *pur*, because it was the repository of a perpetual fire. These places were temples, and at the same time courts of justice; hence we find that in the prutaneion of Athens the laws of Solon were engraved. These laws were inscribed upon wooden cylinders, some of which remained to the time of Plutarch, &c.—*Bryant.*

shewed the same veneration for the residence of the posterity of Athamas.

CXCVIII. Such were the incidents which occurred in Thessaly and Achaia. From hence Xerxes advanced to Melis, near a bay of the sea, where the ebbing and flowing of the tide may be seen every day. Near this bay is an extensive plain, wide in one part, and contracted in another: round this plain are certain lofty and inaccessible mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, and inclosing the whole region of Melis. Leaving Achaia, the first city near this bay is Anticyra. This is washed by the river Sperchius, which, rising in the country of the Enieni, here empties itself into the sea. At the distance of twenty furlongs is another river, called Dyras, which is said to have risen spontaneously from the earth, to succour Hercules when he was burning. A third river, called Melas, flows at the distance of twenty furlongs more.

CXCIX. Within five furlongs of this last river stands the town of Trachis. In this part the country is the widest, extending from the mountains to the sea, and comprehending a space of twenty-two thousand plethra. In the mountainous tract which incloses Trachinia, there is an opening to the west of Trachis, through which the Asopus winds round the base of the mountain.

CC. To the west of this, another small stream is found, named the Phœnix; it rises in these mountains, and empties itself into the Asopus. The most contracted part of the country is that which lies nearest the Phœnix, where the road will only admit one carriage to pass. From the Phœnix to Thermopylæ are fifteen furlongs; in the intermediate space is a village named Anthela, beyond which the Asopus meets the sea. The country contiguous to Anthela is spacious; here may be seen a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, the seats of the Amphictyons [158], and a shrine of Amphictyon himself.

CCI. Xerxes encamped in Trachinia at Melis; the Greeks, in the Straits. These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ; the people of the country Pylæ only. Here then were the two armies stationed, Xerxes occupying all the northern region as far as Trachinia, the Greeks that of the south.

CCII. The Grecian army [159], which here waited

[158] *Amphictyons.*]—See book v. c. 62, note. What I have there omitted concerning the Amphictyons, their office, and character, may be found amply discussed in Gillies's History of Greece, and faithfully represented in Rees's edition of Chambers's Dictionary, as well as by Larcher.—*T.*

[159] *The Grecian army.*]—Beneath is the number of Greeks who appeared on this occasion, according to the different representations of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus:

waited the approach of the Persian, was composed of three hundred Spartans in complete armour; five hundred Tegeatæ, and as many Mantineans; one hundred and twenty men from Orchomenus of Arcadia, a thousand men from the rest of Arcadia, four hundred Corinthians, two hundred from Philius, and eighty from Mycenæ. The above came from the Peloponnese: from Bœotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

CCIII. In addition to the above, the aid of all

	Herodotus.	Pausanias.	Diodorus.
Spartans	300	300	300
Tegeatæ	500	500	Lacedæmonians 700
Mantineans	500	500	The other nations of the Peloponnese - 3,000
Orchomenians	120	120	
Arcadians	1,000	1,000	
Corinthians	400	400	
Phlyontians	200	200	
Micenians	80	80	
Total	3,100	3,100	4,000

The above came from the Peloponnese; those who came from the other parts of Greece, according to the authors abovementioned—

Thespians	700	700	Milesians 1,000
Thebans	400	400	— 400
Phoceans	1,000	1,000	— 1,000
Opuntian Locrians	—	6,000	— 1,000
	5,200	11,200	7,400

all the Opuntian Locrians had been solicited, together with a thousand Phoceans. To obtain the assistance of these, the Greeks had previously sent emissaries among them, saying, that they were the forerunners only of another and more numerous body, whose arrival was every day expected. They added, that the defence of the sea was confided to the people of Athens and Ægina, in conjunction with the rest of the fleet; that there was no occasion for alarm, as the invader of Greece was not a god, but a mere human being; that there never was nor could be any mortal superior to the vicissitudes of fortune; that the most exalted characters were exposed to the greatest evils; he therefore, a mortal, now advancing to attack them, would suffer [160] for his temerity.

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[160] *Would suffer.*]—The expedition of Xerxes to Greece, and his calamitous return, as described by Herodotus, may be well expressed by the words with which Ezekiel describes Gog's army and its destruction.—See chapter xxxviii. xxxix.

"Thou shalt ascend and come like a storm, thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land, thou, and all thy bands, and many people with thee:

"Persia, Æthiopia, and Lybia with them, all of them with shield and helmet.

"But I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws, I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee: and I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand; and will cause thy arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

temerity. These arguments proved effectual, and they accordingly marched to Trachis to join their allies.

CCIV. These troops were commanded by different officers of their respective countries: but the man most regarded, and who was intrusted with the chief command, was Leonidas of Sparta. His ancestors were, Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules.

CCV. An accident had placed him on the throne of Sparta; for, as he had two brothers older than himself, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had entertained no thoughts of the government; but Cleomenes dying without male issue, and Dorieus not surviving (for he ended his days in Sicily) the crown came to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandrides, and who had married the daughter of Cleomenes. On the present occasion he took with

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" Thou shalt fall upon the mountains, thou and all thy bands, and the people that is with thee. I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field, to be devoured."—*T.*

with him to Thermopylæ a body of three hundred chosen men, all of whom had children [161]. To these he added those Theban troops [162] whose number I have before mentioned, and who were conducted by Leontiades son of Eurymachus. Leonidas had selected the Thebans to accompany him, because a suspicion generally prevailed that they were secretly attached to the Medes. These therefore he summoned to attend him, to ascertain whether they would actually contribute their aid, or openly withdraw themselves from the Grecian league. With sentiments perfectly hostile, they nevertheless sent the assistance required.

CCVI. The march of this body under Leonidas was accelerated by the Spartans, that their example might stimulate their allies to action, and that they might not make their delay a pretence for going over to the Medes. The celebration of

[161] *All of whom had children.*]—

Three hundred more compleat th' intrepid band,
Illustrious fathers all of generous sons,
The future guardians of Laconia's state. *Leonidas.*

[162] *Theban troops.*]—Plutarch upbraids Herodotus for thus slandering the Thebans; and Diodorus says, that Thebes was divided into two parties, one of which sent four hundred men to Thermopylæ.—*T.*

of the Carnian festival [163] protracted the march of their main body; but it was their intention to follow with all imaginable expedition, leaving only a small detachment for the defence of Sparta. The rest of the allies were actuated by similar motives, for the Olympic games happened to recur at this period; and as they did not expect an engagement would immediately take place at Thermopylæ, they sent only a detachment before them.

CCVII. Such were the motives of the confederate body. The Greeks who were already assembled at Thermopylæ were seized with so much terror on the approach of the Persian, that they consulted about a retreat. Those of the Peloponnese were in general of opinion that they should return and guard the isthmus; but as the Phoceans and Locrians were exceedingly averse to this measure, Leonidas prevailed on them to continue on their post. He resolved however to send messengers round to all the states, requiring supplies, stating that their number was much too small to oppose the Medes with any effect.

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[163] *Carnian festival.*]—This was continued for seven days at Sparta in honour of Apollo. Various reasons are assigned for its institution; the most plausible is that found in the Scholiast to Theocritus, which tells us that they were celebrated by the people of the Peloponnese, to commemorate the cessation of some pestilence.—*T.*

CCVIII. Whilst they thus deliberated, Xerxes sent a horseman to examine their number and their motions. He had before heard in Thessaly, that a small band was collected at this passage, that they were led by Lacedæmonians, and by Leonidas of the race of Hercules. The person employed, performed his duty: all those who were without the intrenchment, he was able to reconnoitre; those who were within for the purpose of defending it, eluded his observation. The Lacedæmonians were at that period stationed without [164]; of these some were performing gymnastic exercises, whilst others were employed in combing their hair. He was greatly astonished, but he leisurely surveyed their number and employments, and returned without molestation, for they despised him too much to pursue him.—He related to Xerxes all that he had seen.

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[164] *Stationed without, &c.*]—

By chance
The Spartans then compos'd th' external guard;
They, in a martial exercise employ'd,
Heed not the monarch and his gaudy train,
But poise the spear protended as in fight,
Or lift their adverse shields in single strife,
Or trooping forward rush, retreat, and wheel
In ranks unbroken, and with equal feet:
While others calm beneath their polish'd helms
Draw down their hair, whose length of sable curls
O'erspread their necks with terror. *Leonidas.*

CCIX. Xerxes, on hearing the above, was little aware of what was really the case, that this people were preparing themselves either to conquer or to die. The thing appeared to him so ridiculous, that he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was then with the army. On his appearing, the king questioned him on this behaviour of the Spartans, expressing his desire to know what it might intimate. "I have before, Sir," said Demaratus, "spoken to you of this "people, at the commencement of this expedi- "tion; and as I remember, when I related to you "what I knew you would have occasion to ob- "serve, you treated me with contempt. I am "conscious of the danger of declaring the "truth, in opposition to your prejudices; but I "will nevertheless do so. It is the determina- "tion of these men to dispute this pass with us, "and they are preparing themselves accordingly. "It is their custom before any enterprise of "danger, to adorn their hair[165]. Of this you "may

[165] *Adorn their hair.*]—Long hair distinguished the free man from the slave; and, according to Plutarch, Lycurgus was accustomed to say, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly more terrific. The following are some of the most animated lines in Leonidas:

To whom the Spartan: O imperial lord,
Such is their custom, to adorn their heads

When

" may be assured, that if you vanquish these, " and their countrymen in Sparta, no other na- " tion will presume to take up arms against you: " you are now advancing to attack a people " whose realms and city are the fairest, and " whose troops are the bravest of Greece." These words seemed to Xerxes preposterous enough; but he demanded a second time, how so small a number could contend with his army. " Sir," said he, " I will submit to suffer the " punishment of falsehood, if what I say does " not happen."

CCX. Xerxes was still incredulous, he accordingly kept his position without any movement for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat. On the fifth day, observing that they continued on their post, merely as he supposed from the most impudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and sent against them a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. The Medes in

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When full determin'd to encounter death.
Bring down thy nations in resplendent steel;
Arm, if thou canst, the general race of man,
All who possess the regions unexplor'd
Beyond the Ganges, all whose wand'ring steps
Above the Caspian range, the Scythian wild,
With those who drink the secret fount of Nile:
Yet to Laconian bosoms shall dismay
Remain a stranger. *T.*

in consequence attacked them, and lost a considerable number. A reinforcement arrived; but though the onset was severe, no impression was made. It now became universally conspicuous, and no less so to the king himself, that he had many troops, but few men [166].—The above engagement continued all day.

CCXI. The Medes, after being very roughly treated, retired, and were succeeded by the band of Persians called by the king "the immortal," and commanded by Hydarnes. These it was supposed would succeed without the smallest difficulty. They commenced the attack, but made no greater impression than the Medes: their superior numbers were of no advantge, on account of the narrowness of the place; and their spears also were shorter than those of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians fought in a manner which deserves to be recorded; their own excellent discipline, and the unskilfulness of their adversaries, were in many instances remarkable, and not the least so when in close ranks they affected to retreat.

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[166] *Many troops, but few men.*]—According to Plutarch, Leonidas being asked how he dared to encounter so prodigious a multitude with so few men, replied: "If you reckon by number, all Greece is not able to oppose a small part of that army; but if by courage, the number I have with me is sufficient.

retreat. The Barbarians seeing them retire pursued them with a great and clamourous shout; but on their near approach the Greeks faced about to receive them. The loss of the Persians was prodigious, and a few also of the Spartans fell. The Persians, after successive efforts made with great bodies of their troops to gain the pass, were unable to accomplish it, and obliged to retire.

CCXII. It is said of Xerxes himself, that being a spectator of the contest, he was so greatly alarmed for the safety of his men, that he leaped thrice from his throne. On the following day, the Barbarians succeeded no better than before. They went to the onset as against a contemptible number, whose wounds they supposed would hardly permit them to renew the combat: but the Greeks, drawn up in regular divisions, fought each nation on its respective post, except the Phoceans, who were stationed on the summit of the mountain to defend the pass. The Persians, experiencing a repetition of the same treatment, a second time retired.

CCXIII. Whilst the king was exceedingly perplexed what conduct to pursue in the present emergence, Ephialtes the son of Eurydemus, a Melian, demanded an audience: he expected to receive some great recompense for shewing him the

the path which led over the mountain to Thermopylæ: and he indeed it was who thus rendered ineffectual the valour of those Greeks who perished on this station. This man, through fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled afterward into Thessaly; but the Pylagoræ [167], calling a council of the Amphictyons at Pylæa for this express purpose, set a price upon his head, and he was afterward slain by Athenades, a Trachinian, at Anticyra, to which place he had returned. Athenades was induced to put him to death for some other reason, which I shall afterward [168] explain; he nevertheless received the reward offered by the Lacedæmonians:—this however was the end of Ephialtes.

CCXIV. On this subject there is also a different report, for it is said that Onetes, son of Phanagoras,

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[167] *Pylagoræ.*]—Many are involved in a mistake, by confounding the Pylagoræ with the Amphictyons. They were not synonymous, for though all the Pylagoræ were Amphictyons, all the Amphictyons were not Pylagoræ.—See *Potter's Archæologia Græca*, lib. i. c. 16.

[168] *I shall afterward.*]—But Herodotus no where does this; whether therefore he forgot it, or whether it appeared in some of his writings which are lost, cannot be ascertained. —See P. Wesselingi Dissertatio Herodotæa, p. 14.

"Verum nihil hujus nec libro viii. neque nono. Plures ne ergo ix. libris absolvit in quis de Athenada? An excidit ex superstitibus ejus memoria? non dixero. Oblitusne est de Athenada addere? Fieri potest. Operi longo fas est obrepere somnum."

Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus of Anticyra, were the men who informed the king of this path, and conducted the Persians round the mountain. This with me obtains no credit, for nothing is better known than that the Pylagoræ did not set a price upon the heads of Onetes or Corydalus, but upon that of Ephialtes the Trachinian[169], after, as may be presumed, a due investigation of the matter. It is also certain, that Ephialtes, conscious of his crime, endeavoured to save himself by flight: Onetes, being a Melian, might perhaps, if tolerably acquainted with the country, have known this passage; but it was certainly Ephialtes who shewed it to the Persians, and to him without scruple I impute the crime.

CCXV. The intelligence of Ephialtes gave the king infinite satisfaction, and he instantly detached Hydarnes, with the forces under his command, to avail himself of it. They left the camp at the first approach of evening; the Melians, the natives of the country, discovered this path, and by it conducted the Thessalians against the Phoceans, who had defended it by an intrenchment, and deemed themselves secure. It had never however proved of any advantage to the Melians.

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[169] *Trachinian.*]—In the preceding chapter Herodotus calls him a Melian; but this amounts to the same thing, as Trachinia made part of Melis.

CCXVI. The path of which we are speaking commences at the river Asopus. This stream flows through an aperture of the mountain called Anopæa, which is also the name of the path. This is continued through the whole length of the mountain, and terminates near the town of Alpenus. This is the first city of the Locrians, on the side next the Melians, near the rock called Melampygus[170], by the residence of the Cercopes[171]. The path is narrowest at this point.

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[170] *Melampygus.*]—See Suidas, at the article Μελαμπυγα τυχοις. The Melampygi were two brothers, and remarkable for their extreme insolence; their mother cautioned them against meeting a man who had "black buttocks." Hercules meeting them, bound them together, and suspended them from a post, with their heads downward. Afterward seeing them laugh, he inquired the reason, they told him that their mother bade them beware of meeting a man with "black buttocks." Hercules on hearing this laughed too, and let them go. Those who had "white buttocks" (λευκοπυγες) were ridiculed by the comic poets as effeminate. —See *Aristophanes Lysistrate.*

Larcher tells a story somewhat different, from the Adagia of Zenobius.—*T.*

[171] *Cercopes.*]—These people were robbers. Homer is said to have written a poem on them, mentioned by Suidas at the word Ὁμηρος, and by Proclus in his life of Homer. Probably the expression extended to all sorts of robbers, of whom there were doubtless many in such a place as Œta. Plutarch mentions them as a ridiculous people, making Agis say to Alexander, "I am not a little surprised that all you great men who are descended from Jupiter take a strange delight in flatterers and buffoons: as Hercules had his Cercopians, and Bacchus his Silenians about him; so I see your majesty is pleased to have a regard for such characters."—*Larcher.*

CCXVII. Following the track which I have described, the Persians passed the Asopus, and marched all night, keeping the Œtean mountains on the right, and the Trachinian on the left. At the dawn of morning they found themselves at the summit, where, as I have before observed, a band of a thousand Phoceans in arms was stationed, both to defend their own country and this pass. The passage beneath was defended by those whom I have mentioned: of this above, the Phoceans had voluntarily promised Leonidas to undertake the charge.

CCXVIII. The approach of the Persians was discovered to the Phoceans in this manner: whilst they were ascending the mountain they were totally concealed by the thick groves of oak; but from the stillness of the air they were discovered by the noise they made by trampling on the leaves, a thing which might naturally happen. The Phoceans ran to arms, and in a moment the Barbarians appeared, who, seeing a number of men precipitately arming themselves, were at first struck with astonishment. They did not expect an adversary; and they had fallen in among armed troops. Hydarnes, apprehending that the Phoceans might prove to be Lacedæmonians, inquired of Ephialtes who they were. When he was informed, he drew up the Persians in order of battle. The Phoceans, not able to sustain

the heavy flight of arrows, retreated up the mountain [172], imagining themselves the objects of this attack, and expecting certain destruction: but the troops with Hydarnes and Ephialtes did not think it worth their while to pursue them, and descended rapidly down the opposite side of the mountain.

CCXIX. To those Greeks stationed in the straits of Thermopylæ, Megistias the soothsayer had previously, from inspection of the entrails, predicted that death awaited them in the morning. Some deserters [173] had also informed them of the circuit the Persians had taken; and this intelligence was in the course of the night circulated through the camp. All this was confirmed by their centinels, who early in the morning fled down the sides of the mountain. In this predicament,

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[172] *Up the mountain.*]—Mr. Glover has been very minute and faithful in his representation of the places where this scene was exhibited :

> The Phocian chief,
> Whate'er the cause, relinquishing his post,
> Was to a *neighbouring eminence* remov'd,
> Though by the foe neglected or *contemn'd*. *T.*

[173] *Deserters.*]—Diodorus Siculus mentions but one: "There was in the army," says he, "one Tyrastiades of Cyrne; as he was a man of honour and probity, he fled from the camp by night, and going to Leonidas and his party, discovered to them the designs of Ephialtes."—*Larcher.*

ment, the Greeks called a council, who were greatly divided in their opinions: some were for remaining on their station, others advised a retreat. In consequence of their not agreeing, many of them dispersed to their respective cities; a part resolved to continue with Leonidas.

CCXX. It is said, that those who retired, only did so in compliance with the wishes of Leonidas, who was desirous to preserve them: but he thought that he himself, with his Spartans, could not without the greatest ignominy forsake the post they had come to defend. I am myself inclined to believe that Leonidas, seeing his allies not only reluctant, but totally averse to resist the danger which menaced them, consented to their retreat. His own return he considered as dishonourable, whilst he was convinced that his defending his post would equally secure his own fame, and the good of Sparta. In the very beginning of these disturbances, the Spartans having consulted the oracle, were informed that either their king must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the Barbarians. The oracle was communicated in hexameter verses, and was to this effect:

" To you who dwell in Sparta's ample walls,
" Behold, a dire alternative befalls;—

" Your glorious city must in ruins lie,
" Or slain by Persian arms, a king must die,
" A king descended from Herculean blood.
" For lo! he comes, and cannot be withstood;
" Nor bulls, nor lions, can dispute the field,
" 'Tis Jove's own force, and this or that must
" yield."

I am unwilling to insinuate of the allies who departed, that differing in opinion from their leader, they dishonourably deserted. I should also suppose that the conduct of Leonidas was the result of his revolving the oracle [174] in his mind, and of his great desire to secure to the Spartans alone, the glory of this memorable action.

CCXXI. To me it is no small testimony of the truth of this supposition, that among those whom Leonidas dismissed, was Megistias himself. He was

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[174] *The oracle.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for his manner of representing these circumstances; some of which he says our author has done falsely, others maliciously. This however does not seem to have been the case.

Glover makes Leonidas exclaim, on hearing that the enemy had circumvented him,

I now behold the oracle fulfill'd.—
Then art thou near, thou glorious sacred hour
Which shall my country's liberty secure?
Thrice hail, thou solemn period; thee the tongues
Of virtue, fame, and freedom, shall proclaim,
Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn! *T.*

was of Acarnania, and, as some affirm, descended from Melampus; he accompanied Leonidas on this expedition, and from the entrails had predicted what would happen: he refused however to leave his friends, and satisfied himself with sending away his only son, who had followed his father on this occasion.

CCXXII. Obedient to the direction of their leader, the confederates retired. The Thespians and Thebans [175] alone remained with the Spartans, the Thebans indeed very reluctantly, but they were detained by Leonidas as hostages. The Thespians were very zealous in the cause, and refusing to abandon their friends, perished with them. The leader of the Thespians was Demophilus, son of Diadromas.

CCXXIII. Xerxes early in the morning offered a solemn libation, then waiting till the hour of full forum [176], he advanced from his camp: to the

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[175] *Thespians and Thebans.*]—Diodorus Siculus speaks only of the Thespians. Pausanias says that the people of Mycene sent eighty men to Thermopylæ, who had part in this glorious day; and in another place he says, that all the allies retired before the battle, except the Thespians and people of Mycene.—*Larcher.*

It is probable that Diodorus speaks only of the Thespians, because the Thebans did not remain voluntarily.

[176] *Full forum.*]—I have before explained this circumstance with respect to the mode of computing time.

the above measure he had been advised by Ephialtes. The descent from the mountain is much shorter than the circuitous ascent. The Barbarians with Xerxes approached; Leonidas and his Greeks proceeded, as to inevitable death, a much greater space from the defile than they had yet done. Till now they had defended themselves behind their intrenchment, fighting in the most contracted part of the passage; but on this day they engaged on a wider space, and a multitude of their opponents fell. Behind each troop of Persians, officers were stationed with whips in their hands, compelling with blows their men to advance. Many of them fell into the sea, where they perished; many were trodden under foot by their own troops, without exciting the smallest pity or regard. The Greeks, conscious that their destruction was at hand from those who had taken the circuit of the mountain, exerted themselves with the most desperate valour against their Barbarian assailants.

CCXXIV. Their spears being broken in pieces, they had recourse to their swords[177]. Leonidas

[177] *Their swords.*]—The soldiers of the Lacedæmonians wore a red uniform; and Suidas says, that it was because the blood of those who were wounded would thus be less conspicuous.—*T.*

Leonidas fell in the engagement, having greatly signalized himself; and with him, many Spartans of distinction, as well as others of inferior note. I am acquainted with the names of all the three hundred. Many illustrious Persians also were slain, among whom were Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius, by Phrataguna, the daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and grandson of Arsamis. Having married his daughter to Darius, as she was an only child, all his wealth went with her.

CCXXV. These two brothers of Xerxes fell as they were contending for the body of Leonidas[178]: here the conflict was the most severe, till

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[178] *Body of Leonidas.*]—One of the noblest descriptions in Homer is that of the battle for the body of Patroclus; and we learn from various examples, that the ancients were remarkably tenacious on this head, deeming it the greatest baseness to forsake the dead bodies of their friends. Plutarch, in his parallels between the Romans and Greeks, thus describes the death of Leonidas:

"Whilst they were at dinner, the Barbarians fell upon them: upon which Leonidas desired them to eat heartily, for they were to sup with Pluto. Leonidas charged at the head of his troops, and after receiving a multitude of wounds, got up to Xerxes himself, and snatched the crown from his head. He lost his life in the attempt; and Xerxes, causing his body to be opened, found his heart hairy. So says Aristides, in his first book of his Persian History." This

till at length the Greeks by their superior valour four times repelled the Persians, and drew aside the body of their prince. In this situation they continued till Ephialtes and his party approached. As soon as the Greeks perceived them at hand, the scene was changed, and they retreated to the narrowest part of the pass. Having repassed their intrenchment, they posted themselves, all except the Thebans, in a compact body, upon a hill, which is at the entrance of the straits, and where a lion of stone [179] has been erected in honour of Leonidas. In this situation, they who had swords left, used them against the enemy, the rest exerted themselves with their hands and their teeth [180]. The Barbarians rushing upon them,

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fiction seems to have been taken from the λασιον κηρ of Homer.

[179] *Lion of stone.*]—Two epigrams on this subject may be found in the Analecta Veterum Poet. Græc. v. i. 132. v. ii. 162. The bones of Leonidas were carried back to Sparta by Pausanias, forty years after his death; they were placed in a monument opposite the theatre: every year they pronounced in this place a funeral oration, and celebrated games, at which the Spartans only were suffered to contend.—*Larcher.*

[180] *Their teeth.*]—"What are we to think of this hyperbole?" says Longinus; "What probability is there that men should defend themselves with their hands and teeth against armed troops? This nevertheless is not incredible, for the thing does not appear to be sought out for an hyperbole; but the hyperbole seems to arise from the subject."

This

them, some in front, after overturning their wall, others surrounding and pressing them in all directions, finally overpowered them.

This circumstance which appeared hyperbolical to Longinus does not to me; this mode of fighting was common amongst the Lacedæmonians; when they had no arms, they availed themselves of their nails and teeth: Cicero had been a witness of this.—See the *Tusculan Questions*, book fifth, chapter 27th.

There is also another memorable instance of men fighting with hands and teeth, in the Numidian soldier, at the battle of Cannæ, who was found in the field expiring under the body of a dead Roman, whose head he was tearing with his teeth, not being able to use his hands as weapons. See Livy, xxvii. 51.

Diodorus Siculus relates the battle of Thermopylæ somewhat differently; he tells us that Leonidas, when he knew that he was circumvented, made a bold attempt by night to penetrate to the tent of Xerxes; but this the Persian king had forsaken on the first alarm. The Greeks however proceeded in search of him from one side to the other, and slew a prodigious multitude. When morning approached, the Persians perceiving the Greeks so few in number, held them in contempt; but they still did not dare to attack them in front; encompassing them on both sides, and behind, they slew them all with their spears. Such was the end of Leonidas and his party.

Mr. Glover, in his English Poem of Leonidas, has followed the account of Diodorus; he differs however from both historians, in making the king of Sparta fall the last; his description is sufficiently animated to be inserted in this place:

The Spartan king
Now stands alone. In heaps his slaughter'd friends
All stretch'd around him lie. The distant foes
Show'r on his head innumerable darts;

From

CCXXVI. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Thespians; but none of them distinguished themselves so much as Dieneces the Spartan. A speech of his is recorded, which he made before they came to any engagement. A certain Trachinian having observed, that the Barbarians would send forth such a shower of arrows that their multitude would obscure the sun; he replied, like a man ignorant of fear, and despising the numbers of the Medes, "our Trachinian friend promises us great advantages; "if the Medes obscure the sun's light, we shall "fight them in the shade, and be protected from "the heat." Many other sayings have been handed down as monuments of this man's fame.

CCXXVII. Next to him, the most distinguished of the Spartans were, Alpheus and Maron, two brothers, the sons of Orsiphantus; of

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From various sluices gush the vital floods;
They stain his fainting limbs; nor yet with pain
His brow is clouded; but those beauteous wounds,
The sacred pledges of his own renown,
And Sparta's safety, in serenest joy
His closing eye contemplates. Fame can twine
No brighter laurels round his glorious head;
His virtue more to labour fate forbids,
And lays him now in honourable rest,
To seal his country's liberty by death.

of the Thespians, the most conspicuous was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatidas.

CCXXVIII. All these were interred in the place where they fell, together with such of the confederates as were slain before the separation of the forces by Leonidas. Upon their tomb was this inscription:

"Here once, from Pelops' seagirt region brought,
"Four thousand men three hostile millions fought."

This was applied to them all collectively. The Spartans were thus distinguished:

"Go, stranger, and to list'ning Spartans tell,
"That here, obedient to their laws, we fell."

There was one also appropriated to the prophet Megistias:

"By Medes cut off beside Sperchius' wave,
"The seer Megistias fills this glorious grave:
"Who stood the fate he well foresaw to meet,
"And, link'd with Sparta's leaders, scorn'd retreat."

All these ornaments and inscriptions, that of Megistias alone excepted, were here placed by the Amphictyons. Simonides, son of Leoprepis[181], inscribed

[181] *Simonides, son of Leoprepis.*]—See note to book v. c.102. The Simonides here mentioned composed several works, the titles of which may be seen in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, v. i. p. 565.

inscribed the one to the honour of Megistias, from the ties of private hospitality.

CCXXIX. Of these three hundred, there were two named Eurytus and Aristodemus; both of them, consistently with the discipline of their country, might have secured themselves by retiring to Sparta, for Leonidas had permitted them to leave the camp; but they continued at Alpenus, being both afflicted by a violent disorder of the eyes: or, if they had not thought proper to return home, they had the alternative of meeting death in the field with their fellow-soldiers. In this situation, they differed in opinion what conduct to pursue. Eurytus having heard of the circuit made by the Persians, called for his arms, and putting them on, commanded his helot to conduct him to the battle. The slave did so, and immediately fled, whilst his master died fighting valiantly. Aristodemus pusillanimously staid where he was. If either Aristodemus, being individually diseased, had retired home, or if they had returned together, I cannot think that the Spartans could have shewn any resentment against them; but as one of them died in the field, which the other, who was precisely in the same circumstances, refused to do, it was impossible not to be greatly incensed against Aristodemus.

CCXXX. The safe return of Aristodemus to Sparta

Sparta is by some thus related and explained. There are others who assert, that he was dispatched on some business from the army, and might, if he had pleased, have been present at the battle, but that he saved himself by lingering on the way. They add, that his companion, employed on the same business, returned to the battle, and there fell.

CCXXXI. Aristodemus, on his return, was branded with disgrace and infamy; no one would speak with him; no one would supply him with fire; and the opprobrious term of trembler* was annexed to his name; but he afterward, at the battle of Platea, effectually atoned for his former conduct.

CCXXXII. It is also said that another of the three hundred survived; his name was Pantites, and he had been sent on some business to Thessaly. Returning to Sparta, he felt himself in disgrace, and put an end to his life.

CCXXXIII. The Thebans, under the command

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* *Trembler.*]—He who trembled, ὁ τρεσας; it might be rendered *quaker:* this seems to have been an established term of opprobrium in Sparta; Tyrtæus says, τρεσσαινων δ' ανδρων πασ' απολωλ' αρετη—" the *tremblers* are devoid of all virtue." See Brunck's Anal. vol. i. p. 49.—*T.*

mand of Leontiades, hitherto constrained by force, had fought with the Greeks against the Persians; but as soon as they saw that the Persians were victorious, when Leonidas and his party retired to the hill, they separated themselves from the Greeks. In the attitude of suppliants they approached the Barbarians, assuring them what was really the truth, that they were attached to the Medes; that they had been among the first to render earth and water; that they had only come to Thermopylæ on compulsion, and could not be considered as accessary to the slaughter of the king's troops. The Thessalians confirming the truth of what they had asserted, their lives were preserved. Some of them however were slain; for as they approached, the Barbarians put several to the sword; but the greater part, by the order of Xerxes, had the royal marks impressed upon them, beginning with Leontiades himself. Eurymachus his son was afterward slain at the head of four hundred Thebans, by the people of Platea, whilst he was making an attempt upon their city.

CCXXXIV. In this manner the Greeks fought[182] at Thermopylæ. Xerxes afterward sent

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[182] *The Greeks fought.*]—Plutarch censures Herodotus for omitting

sent for Demaratus, and thus addressed him: "I have already, Demaratus, had experience of "your

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omitting many memorable things relating to Leonidas. Some of those specified by Plutarch I have already introduced in my notes, others were as follow: When the wife of Leonidas took leave of him, she asked him what commands he had for her? "Marry," said he, in reply, "a good man, and bring him good children."—Being desirous to save two of his relations, who were with him at Thermopylæ, he pretended to give them messages to the senate of Sparta: "I followed you," says one of them, "to fight, not as a messenger." "What you enjoin," says the other, "is the business of a messenger;" he then took up his shield and placed himself in his rank.

I cannot in a more proper place than this, make a few miscellaneous remarks upon the institutions of Lycurgus, and the manners of the Spartans; not that I entertain any hope of throwing new light on a subject which has been amply investigated by the learned; but I may perhaps be able to make a few things familiar to my English readers, which were obscure or unknown to them before. The Spartans are renowned in the volumes of antiquity for one virtue above all others: I speak of their fortitude, which they carried to an amazing and almost incredible perfection, a virtue, which if we canvass and examine it to the extent in which it was practised by this extraordinary people, will seem almost peculiar to themselves.

It was the aim of Lycurgus to settle and root in the minds of the Spartans this principle, that the preference was always to be given to virtue, which constituted the only real difference or inequality between one man and another. And he succeeded almost to a miracle. He persuaded them to renounce all other means of happiness usually but falsely so

called,

" your truth and integrity, every thing has hap-
" pened as you foretold; tell me then, how
" many

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called, to make virtue their chief and only object, and to put themselves, their desires, and their hopes to this single test. He prevailed on the rich and noble to give up their ample possessions, to throw all they had into a common fund, and to reduce themselves to a level with their neighbours. And these men, instead of the soft and tender blandishments of plenty, the sweets of luxury, and the pride of life, to which they had been accustomed, were contented to submit to the austerities of a severe and painful discipline; to sit down to a coarse mess of black Spartan broth; to make no appearance, to expect no treatment abroad better than others. This astonishing reformation was confirmed and secured by two expedients; the one which obliged every person to dine constantly in public with his own tribe, on the dinner which was provided for them at the expence of the state; the other, which forbade the use of any other than iron money: by these salutary injunctions, every opportunity of indulging in luxury was cut off, as well as the means of providing for it. They rendered money altogether useless among them, so that Plutarch informs us, it was a common saying in other countries, " that at Sparta, and there alone, of all the cities in the world, Plutus the god of riches was blind; a mere picture or statue without life or motion." I would here remark, that this is one note of difference which Polybius assigns against those who likened the Cretan polity to the Spartan, see book sixth. Plato also, when he reckons riches the fourth ordinary blessing to a state, certainly could not esteem this disregard of money which prevailed in Sparta as a mark of extraordinary virtue; but ordinances so self-denying, so opposite to the suggestions of sense, and the ordinary practice of mankind, would not have been received on the authority of Lycurgus, if they had not been favoured by a character of mind peculiar to this people.

" many of the Lacedæmonians may there be left,
" how many of like valour with those who have
" perished,

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people. It was the natural and constitutional bravery of the Spartans which inclined them to admit and obey such a plan and form of government.

Precept and authority alone would not have done it, for the passions of men are neither to be reasoned nor terrified from their own bent and tendency: it is therefore but rendering justice to this gallant people to confess, that their bravery of mind was founded in inclination and principle. Cicero observes, that the Spartans (and the same could not be said of any other people in the world) had retained their primitive manners, without changing their laws, for more than seven hundred years.—See Orat. pro L. Flacco. Lacedæmonii soli, totô orbe terrarum, septingentos annos et amplius suis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus, vixerunt. —See also *Livy*, book xxx. c. 34.

Plutarch says, only five hundred years, until the time of Agis, son of Archidamus, in which period fourteen kings had reigned. See his Life of Lycurgus. The conquests of Lysander in Asia, by filling Lacedæmon with money, introduced luxury, and vitiated their morals; several examples of which are produced by Xenophon. The women of Sparta seem little less entitled to admiration; strangers to the natural weakness and softness of their sex, they were actuated by the same gallant spirit as the men. They submitted to a like discipline, and endured similar hardships. Instead of studying the accomplishments which usually distinguish a female education, they accustomed themselves to manly exercises; to running, wrestling, throwing the dart or quoit; having the emulation to contend with men at their own arts, and to bear them company in the same paths of glory.

I cannot help presuming, with respect to the dames as well as the men of Sparta, that it must have been something innate, something beyond the power of education, custom, or

" perished, or are they all alike?" " Sir," replied Demaratus, " the Lacedæmonians are a " numerous

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example, which constitutes the wonderful difference we discern in them, compared with all other women. Can it, then, be a matter of wonder, that the Spartan females claimed extraordinary privileges at home, and more extensive power in the government of their families? Lycurgus disliked that excessive authority which the women had usurped, and attempted, it seems, to reform it, and to restore to the husband the usual and proper authority in his own house; but in vain: a convincing argument, that if the women had not of themselves been inclined to his laws of female education, they would have paid them neither attention nor obedience. War, then, and conquest, with the endurance of fatigue, were the principal objects which the Spartans had in view. Learning, and the study of letters, of arts and sciences, to which their neighbours the Athenians were devoted, were in no repute among them. Hence it has been observed, that the former made the better figure in war, the latter in peace.—See Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6. Egregios virtutis bellicæ spiritus Lacedæmoniorum, prudentissimi pacis moribus Athenienses subsequuntur.

And this was unquestionably true, since we are assured, that although the most rigorous care was taken to keep their youth constantly to their exercises, their men of mature years were permitted to live just as they pleased; they followed no employment, they disdained industry and honest labour, and were indeed forbidden to pursue any art, which was accounted liberal; even husbandry, and the management and culture of their lands, the most rational and most public-spirited study that can be pursued, they left entirely to their slaves. The old men of Sparta spent the whole of their time in frequenting the schools and apartments of the youth, as at Athens they did at the public places of resort, to hear or to tell some new thing. The former indeed could

mispend

" numerous people, and possessed of many cities.
" But I will answer your question more parti-
" cularly.

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mispend their time in this manner with more grace, and might plead the authority of Lycurgus in their vindication, whose polity and scheme of government aimed at maintaining an equality among the people, by restraining them from trade, and the arts of growing rich. The design of Solon was entirely the reverse; he strove to animate the Athenians with a spirit of industry; he enacted a law against idleness, requiring every person to have a calling and profession; and the philosopher, who had none, fell under the statute. Cleanthes and Menedemus were indicted and called before the Areopagus on this account. The statute which restrained the study of rhetoric at Rome assigned this reason: " Ibi homines adolescentulos totos dies desidere;" for the same reason philosophers were banished, amongst whom was Epictetus in the reign of Domitian.—See *Aulus Gellius*, l. xv. c. 11.

I have little to say on the religion of the Spartans. The object of their worship seems to have been diversified by them as well as by the Athenians, according to the system of politics which their respective law-givers established. Solon, intent upon promoting commerce and gainful arts, presented the GREAT GODDESS to the Athenians, holding in her right hand the weaver's beam, and he surnamed her from the Ægyptians, Athene and Minerva, styling her the goddess of arts and sciences. Lycurgus, training up the Spartans to the discipline of war, clothed the same goddess in armour, called her Pallas and the Goddess of Battle (παμμαχος ϗ χαλκιοικος θεα) Aristoph. Lysist. ad finem. She was styled Chalciœcus, either because her temple was of brass, or because it was built by fugitives from Chalcis in Eubœa. The brothers also, Castor and Pollux, were for similar reasons enrolled in the Fasti of the Spartans; and I presume, if the Pagan Theology be capable of being reduced

" cularly. Sparta itself contains eight thousand " men, all of whom are equal in valour to those " who fought here; the other Lacedæmonians, " though inferior to these, are still brave." " Tell me, then," returned Xerxes, " how we " may subdue these men with least trouble? " you who have been their prince, must know " what measures they are likely to pursue."

CCXXXV. " Since, Sir," answered Demaratus, " you place a confidence in my opinion, " it is proper that I should speak to you from " the best of my judgment: I would therefore " recommend you to send a fleet of three hundred vessels to the coast of Lacedæmonia. " Contiguous to this is an island named Cythera, of which Chilon, the wisest of our countrymen, observed, that it would be better for " the Spartans if it were buried in the sea; foreseeing the probability of such a measure as " I now recommend. From this island your " troops may spread terror over Sparta. Thus, " a war so very near them, may remove from " you any apprehension of their assisting the " rest

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to any fixed and settled rules, it will be best explained and accounted for by supposing the religion of every different nation or people to be a mixture of worship, and physics, and politics, and that their idols were representations of natural causes, named and habited according to the different tempers and genius of those who set them up.—*T.*

" rest of Greece, which will then be open to " your arms, and which, if subdued, will leave " Sparta hardly able to oppose you. If my ad- " vice be disregarded, you may expect what " follows. There is a narrow isthmus in the " Peloponnese, in which all its people will as- " semble in resistance to your arms, and where " you will have far more violent contests to sus- " tain than you have here experienced. If you " execute what I propose, you may without a " battle become master of the isthmus, with all " the cities of Peloponnesus."

CCXXXVI. Achæmenes the brother of Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, was present at this interview. Fearful that the king might do as he had been advised, he thus delivered his sentiments: " You seem, Sir," said he, " too much " inclined to listen to a man, who either envies " your prosperity, or wishes to betray you. It " is the character of Greeks to envy the suc- " cessful, and to hate their superiors. We have " already lost by shipwreck four hundred ves- " sels; if we detach three hundred more to the " Peloponnese, the force of our opponents will " be equal to our own; our united fleet will be " far superior to theirs, and, with respect to any " efforts they can make, invincible. If your " forces by land, and your fleet by sea advance " at the same time, they will be able mutually to

" assist each other; if you separate them, the " fleet will not be able to assist you, nor you the " fleet. It becomes you to deliberate well on " your own affairs, and not to concern yourself " about those of your enemies, nor to enquire " where they will commence their hostilities, " what measures they will take, or how numerous " they are. Let them attend to their affairs, we " to ours. If the Lacedæmonians shall presume " to attack the Persians, they will be far from " repairing the loss they have already sus- " tained."

CCXXXVII. "Achæmenes," answered Xerxes, " I approve your counsel, and will follow it. " The sentiments of Demaratus are, I well know, " dictated by his regard to my interests; but " your advice to me seems preferable. I cannot " be persuaded that he has any improper inten- " tions, events having proved the wisdom of his " former counsels. One man frequently envies " the prosperity of another, and indulges in " secret sentiments of hatred against him; nei- " ther will he, when he requires it, give him " salutary advice, unless indeed from some sur- " prising effort of virtue; but a friend exults in " a friend's happiness; has no sentiments for " him but those of the truest kindness, and gives " him always the best advice. Let no one there- " fore in future use any invective against Dema- " ratus, who is my friend."

CCXXXVIII. When Xerxes had finished, he went to view the dead, among whom was Leonidas. When he heard that he had been the prince and leader of Sparta, he ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be suspended on a cross*. This incident is no small proof to me, among many others, that Xerxes indulged the warmest indignation against Leonidas whilst he was alive. He otherwise would not have treated him when dead with such barbarity. I know that the Persians, of all mankind, most highly honour military virtue. The orders, however, of the king were executed.

CCXXXIX. I shall now return to the thread of our history. The Spartans were the first who were acquainted with the king's designs against Greece; they sent to the oracle on the occasion, and received the answer I have related. The intelligence was communicated to them in an

* This proceeding of Xerxes is wholly inconsistent with what is told in chap. clxxxi. of this book, where the Persians are represented as testifying the warmest admiration of military virtue. The whole, however, of the character of Xerxes exhibits the greatest contradiction, and would afford excellent materials for a separate essay. At one time we find him sagacious in his enquiries, and profound in his remarks; at another, preposterous, absurd, and puerile; at one time distinguished by the tenderest humanity, at another guilty of the most unprovoked and wanton barbarity.

an extraordinary manner. Demaratus, the son of Ariston, had taken refuge among the Medes, and, as there is every reason to suppose, was not friendly to the Spartans. He however it was who informed them of what was meditated; whether to serve or insult them, must be left to conjecture. When Xerxes had resolved on this expedition against Greece, Demaratus, who was at Susa, and acquainted with his intentions, determined to inform the Lacedæmonians. As this was both difficult and dangerous, he employed the following means: he took two tablets, and erased the wax from each; then inscribed the purpose of the king upon the wood. This done, he replaced the wax, that the several guards on the road, from seeing the empty tablets, might have no suspicion of the business. When these were delivered at Lacedæmon, the people had no conception of their meaning, till, as I have been informed, Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas, removed the difficulty. Imagining what might be intended, she ordered the wax to be removed, and thus made the contents of the tablets known. The Lacedæmonians, after examining what was inscribed on the wood, circulated the intelligence through Greece.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VIII.

URANIA.

CHAP. I.

HAVE before described these events as they are said to have happened. The Greeks who composed the naval armament were these: The Athenians [1] furnished one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, part of which were manned by Plateans, who, though ignorant of sea affairs, were prompted by zeal and courage; the Corinthians brought forty ships, the Megarians twenty; the Chalcidians equipped twenty ships, which the Athenians supplied; the Æginetæ eighteen, the Sicyonians

[1] *Athenians.*]—Diodorus Siculus makes the number of Athenian vessels on this occasion two hundred.

Sicyonians twelve, and the Lacedæmonians ten; the Epidaurians brought eight, the Eretrians seven, the Trœzenians five, the Styreans two; the people of Ceos two, and two barks of fifty oars; the Opuntian Locrians assisted the confederates with seven vessels of fifty oars.

II. These were stationed at Artemisium; and such were the numbers which each nation supplied. Without taking into the account the vessels of fifty oars, the whole amounted to two hundred and seventy-one. Of these the commander in chief appointed by the Spartans, was Eurybiades, the son of Euryclidas. The allies refused to serve under the Athenians, and had resolved, unless they had a Spartan leader, to disperse *.

III. At first, and before any deputation had been sent to Sicily requiring assistance, it had been debated whether it would not be expedient to

* Such are the blessed effects of a republican government.—The two contending states, Athens and Lacedæmon, hazarded the well-being and existence of Greece on the stake of their ambition. These were the nations who risked all for liberty, and among whom liberty flourished. But still more striking effects of intrigue appeared just before the battle of Platæa, when some Athenian leaders were on the point of sacrificing both Athens and Greece to Persia, and were so agitated by the divisions of contending parties, that they entered with reluctance even upon the necessary means of their self-preservation.—*T.*

to entrust the conduct of the naval forces to the Athenians; but as this was opposed by the allies, the Athenians did not insist upon it[2]. Their principal concern was the welfare of Greece, and as they were sensible that this would be endangered by any contention, they very wisely withdrew their claims. As much as war itself is more destructive than peace, so much more dangerous are intestine commotions, than a war conducted with consistency and union: persuaded of this, they did not dispute the matter whilst circumstances justified and required their forbearance. Afterwards, when, having repelled the Persian, they were contending for what belonged to him, they made the insolence of Pausanias a pretence, for depriving the Lacedæmonians of the command. These, however, were things which happened afterwards.

IV. When the Greeks assembled at Artemisium saw the number of ships which were collected at Aphetæ, and every place crowded with troops, they were struck with terror; and as the attempts of

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[2] *Did not insist upon it.*]—Mr. Glover, in his Poem of tho Athenaid, puts this sentiment into the mouth of Themistocles:

> Wisely did we cede
> To Spartan Eurybiades command;
> The different squadrons to their native ports
> Had else deserted, &c.

of the Barbarians had succeeded so much beyond their expectations, they consulted about retreating to the interior parts of Greece [3]. When this idea had been generally circulated, the Eubœans entreated Eurybiades to give them time to remove their children and their slaves. Unsuccessful in this application, they went to Themistocles the Athenian leader, on whom they prevailed for the consideration of thirty talents, to continue at Eubœa, and risk the event of a battle.

V. This was effected by Themistocles in the following manner: He presented Eurybiades with five talents, as if from himself; having gained him, he had only to prevail on Adimantus the Corinthian [4], the son of Ocytus, who was obstinate in his

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[3] *Parts of Greece.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for making this assertion. Pindar, says he, who was a native of a city supposed to be attached to the Medes, mentions the behaviour of the Athenians at Artemisium with the highest encomiums. So perhaps he might, but what does this prove; certainly not that the Greeks did not stay and fight against their will, though when they actually were engaged, they behaved with extraordinary valour.—*T.*

[4] *Adimantus the Corinthian.*]—This Adimantus in the event behaved timidly. He was a Corinthian, and leader of the Corinthians; he must not therefore be confounded with the Athenian Adimantus, who greatly distinguished himself against the Persians, and who, probably, is the same person who was archon in the fourth year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.

his determination to sail from Artemisium. After using the solemnity of an oath, "If you," said he, "will not desert, I promise you a greater "present than the king of the Medes would have "given you for leaving us." He instantly sent to his vessel three talents of silver. By these gifts he gained the commanders to his purpose, and satisfied the Eubœans. Themistocles rewarded himself by keeping the remainder *, whilst they who had accepted of his presents supposed the money had been sent him from Athens for this purpose.

VI. They continued therefore at Eubœa, and came to a battle. The Barbarians arriving at break of day at Aphetæ, had before heard that the Greeks at Artemisium were very few in number. On their seeing this, they were eager to engage, in expectation of taking them; they did not, however, think it expedient to advance directly to the attack, lest the Greeks, perceiving them,

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Olympiad. An epitaph by Simonides was inscribed on his tomb, intimating, that by his counsels Greece became free. —*Larcher.*

See c. 94 of this book, where it is represented that Adimantus was seized with a panic, and fled at the beginning of the fight.

* Other accounts say that he gave one talent to Archibeles the Athenian.—See the story related at length in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles.

them, should escape under cover of the night. The Persians had already boasted that not even the torch-bearer[5] should escape them.

VII. With this idea they pursued the following measures:

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[5] *Torch-bearer.*]—Before trumpets were used in armies, the signal for battle was given by a torch. Those who carried it were sacred to Mars; they advanced at the head of armies, and in the interval betwixt them they dropt their torch, and retired without molestation. The armies engaged, and even if a whole army was destroyed, they spared the life of the torch-bearer, because he was sacred to Mars: thence came a proverb applicable to total defeats, "Not even the torch-bearer has escaped." Herodotus is the first author where we meet with this expression, which afterwards became so familiar that it passed into a proverb.—*Larcher.*

It is probable, that in the time of Homer no signals for battle were in use, as we find no mention of any throughout his works: in both Iliad and Odyssey we find torches placed on the tops of hills to give intelligence of certain events. Modern signals for battle are, by land, drums and trumpets; by sea they are more various, and are given by cannon, lights, sails, and colours. The Romans, in addition to the shout with which all nations have been described as commencing an engagement, violently clashed their arms together. Milton makes a happy use of this idea.

> He spake, and, to confirm his words, out flew
> Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thigh
> Of mighty cherubim. The sudden blaze
> Far round illumin'd hell: highly they raged
> Against the highest, and fierce *with grasped arms*
> *Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,*
> Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven.—*T.*

measures: two hundred chosen vessels were detached beyond Sciathus, lest in passing round Eubœa they might be discovered by the enemy off Capharea and Geræstus, near the Euripus, meaning thus to enclose them, and commence an attack at the same time in the rear and in front. With this design the appointed squadrons set sail. It was not their intention to attack the Greeks on this day, nor till a signal should be given by the detachment with which they were to act in concert. On the departure of the former, an account was taken of the number of those which continued at Aphetæ.

VIII. Whilst the Persians were thus employed, they happened to have with them Scyllias[6] of Scios,

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[6] *Scyllias.*]—The name of this skilful diver is differently written. In an epigram of Apollonides it is Scyllos, in Pliny and Pausanias it is Scillis. Scyllias had taught his daughter Cyane the art of diving; during the tempest, which surprised the Persians near mount Pelion, they plunged together under the water, and removed the anchors which held the vessels of Xerxes, which occasioned considerable injury. By order of the Amphictyons, statues were erected to the father and daughter in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The statue of Cyane was amongst those which by the command of Nero were transported to Rome.—*Larcher.*

Brydone, in his entertaining tour through Sicily and Malta, informs us, that the Sicilian authors make mention of one Colas, who, from his extraordinary skill in diving, was

Scios, the most skilful diver of his time, who, in the shipwreck off Pelion, had preserved to the Persians an immense quantity of treasure, and at the same time considerably enriched himself. This man had long intended to desert to the Greeks, but he had never before had the opportunity: he on this day effected his purpose; it is uncertain in what manner, but if what is related of him be true, it is really astonishing. It is said, that having leaped into the sea at Aphetæ, he did not rise again till he came to Artemisium, having gone a space of eighty stadia through the water. Other things are related of this man, some of which appear to be fabulous, whilst others are actually true. For my own part, I am inclined to the opinion, that he escaped to Artemisium in a little vessel; on his arrival, he informed the commanders of the shipwreck[7], and of the ships which had been sent round Eubœa.

IX. Upon this the Greeks called a council. Various

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was named Pesce, or the fish. It was said of him, that without coming at all to land, he could live for several days in the water; that he caught fish merely by his agility in the water, and that he could even walk across the straits at the bottom of the sea. One of their kings had the cruelty to propose his diving near the gulph of Charybdis, and to tempt him threw in a golden cup. In a third attempt to gain this, it is supposed he was caught by the whirlpool, for he appeared no more.—*T.*

[7] *Shipwreck.*]—See book vii. chap. 188.

Various opinions were delivered: but it was ultimately determined to remain that day on their station, and to depart soon after midnight, to meet that part of the enemy's fleet which had been sent round Eubœa. As they perceived no one advancing against them, as soon as the twilight appeared, they proceeded towards the Barbarians, determining to make experiment of their skill in fighting and manœuvring.

X. The commanders and forces of Xerxes seeing them approach in so small a body, conceived them to be actuated by extreme infatuation[8], and, drawing out their vessels, expected to find them an easy conquest. In this they were not unreasonable, for their fleet was superior to the Greeks, not only in number but swiftness; in contempt,

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[8] *Extreme infatuation.*]—With the same contempt the French are represented to have considered the English army before the battle of Agincourt. This is expressed with the greatest animation by Shakespeare, in his Henry the Fifth.

His numbers are so few,
His soldiers sick and famish'd in their march;
And I am sure, when he shall see our army,
He'll drop his heart into the sink of fear,
And for achievement, offer us his ransom.

To the Persians, as well as to the French, the noble answer of Henry to the French herald was happily applicable.

The man that once did sell the lion's skin
While the beast liv'd, was kill'd with hunting him.

contempt, therefore, they surrounded them. There were some of the Ionians who wished well to the Greeks, and served against them with the greatest reluctance; seeing them thus encircled, they were affected with much uneasiness concerning them, not supposing that any could escape, so insignificant did they appear. There were other Ionians, to whom the seeming distress of the Greeks gave great pleasure; these contended with all exertion who should take the first Athenian vessel, in hopes of a reward from the king. For among the Barbarians greater reputation[9] was allowed to the Athenians, than to any other of the allies.

XI. The Greeks, as soon as the signal was given, turned their prows towards the Barbarians, collecting their sterns into one common centre. On a second signal, though compressed within a narrow space, they attacked the enemy in front. They soon took thirty of the Barbarian vessels, among whom was Philaon, son of Chersis, and brother

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[9] *Greater reputation.*]—Notwithstanding what is here asserted in favour of the Athenians, their own historian remarks, that, from the best conjectures he was able to form, his countrymen had done nothing worthy of being recorded, either at home or abroad, from the Trojan to the Persic and Peloponnesian wars. *Thucydides*, l. i. As I have thrown together at the end of the preceding book some remarks on the Spartan policy and manners, the reader at the conclusion of this will find some relative to those of Athens.—*T.*

brother of Gorgus, prince of Salamis, a man very highly esteemed in the army. The first enemy's ship was taken by an Athenian; his name was Lycomedes, the son of Æschreas, and he obtained the fame he merited. Victory alternately inclined to both parties, when they were separated by the night. The Greeks returned to Artemisium, the Barbarians to Aphetæ, the issue of the contest being very different from what they had expected. Of those Greeks who were in the service of the king, Antidorus the Lemnian was the only one who went over to his countrymen. The Athenians, in consideration of his conduct, assigned him some lands at Salamis.

XII. The above engagement took place in the middle of the summer. When night approached, there fell a heavy storm of rain, attended with continued thunder from mount Pelion. The bodies of the dead, and the wrecks of the vessels floating to Aphetæ, were so involved among the prows of the ships, that the oars were hardly manageable; the forces on board were seized with a violent panic, expecting that they were certainly doomed to perish[10]. They

[10] *Expecting every moment to perish.*]—An example of terror very much like this, occurs in 1 Samuel, xiv. xv. Though it must be acknowledged, that the confusion into which the

They had hardly recovered themselves from the effect of the first storm and shipwreck off Pelion, when that severe battle at sea had succeeded. As soon as this last terminated, they were attacked again by violent rains, a tempestuous sea, and continued thunder.

XIII. This night, however, proved still more disastrous, to those whose business it was to make a circuit round Eubœa. The storm fell upon them with the greater violence, as they were remote from land; and they perished in a miserable manner[11]. It commenced when they were standing towards

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camp of the Philistines was thrown, is expressly attributed to a divine cause, and was attended with an earthquake.

"And there was trembling in the host, in the field and among the people; the garrison and the spoilers they also trembled, and the earth quaked; so it was a very great trembling.

"And the watchmen of Saul in Gibeah looked, and behold the multitude melted away, and they went on beating down one another."—*T.*

[11] *Miserable manner.*]—Το τελος σφι εγενετο αχαρι.—Longinus, section xliii. p. 160, Pearce's edition, censures this expression of αχαρι, as mean and feeble. Pearce does not vindicate our author, neither does Toup; Larcher does, and with considerable effect. Boileau, he says, has rendered the word αχαρι, *peu agreable.* If this were admitted, the censure of Longinus would be reasonable enough; but in fact αχαρι is a very strong term, and signifies something in the highest degree shocking. Herodotus has applied συμφορη αχαρις, to the murder of a brother, book i. 42; and again to

towards the shoals of Eubœa; ignorant of their course, they were driven before the wind, and dashed against the rocks*. It seemed a divine interposition, that the Persian fleet should thus be rendered equal, or at least not much superior to that of the Greeks. In this manner they were destroyed on the Eubœan sands.

XIV. The Barbarians at Aphetæ saw with joy the morning advance, and remained inactive, thinking it of no small moment, after their past calamities, to enjoy the present interval of tranquillity. At this juncture, the Greeks were reinforced by fifty-three Athenian ships. Animated by the arrival of their friends, they had still farther reason to exult in the fate of those Barbarians who had been ordered round Eubœa, not one of whom escaped the violence of the storm. The

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to the murder of a son, vii. 190. Antoninus Liberalis calls the crime of incest between a father and his daughter, αχαρι κ) αθεσμον εργον, an action horrible and offensive to all laws. A similar mode of speaking was in use amongst the Romans; every one knows that Virgil applied the word *illaudatus* to Busiris; and Horace calls Pythagoras, Non sordidus auctor naturæ verique.

* It is the fashion to call Herodotus credulous and superstitious; the truth is, he was a good and pious man, who believed in a particular Providence. If any thing saved Greece from its own factious spirit, and from the overwhelming forces of Xerxes, it surely was Providence, which, for reasons unknown to us, and for the further views which it had concerning Greece, thought it worth saving.—*T.*

The Greeks taking the opportunity of the same hour, towards the evening advanced boldly against the Cilicians; these they totally defeated, and at night returned again to Artemisium.

XV. On the third day, the leaders of the Barbarians did not wait for the Greeks to commence the attack; they advanced about mid-day, mutually encouraging each other: they could not bear to be insulted by so inferior a number, and they feared the indignation of Xerxes. It happened that these engagements by sea took place precisely at the same periods as the conflicts at Thermopylæ. The object of the sea fights was the Euripus, as that of the battles by land was the passage of Thermopylæ. The Greeks animated each other to prevent the entrance of the Barbarians into Greece; the Barbarians, in like manner were emulous to disperse the Greeks, and become masters of these passages.

XVI. Whilst the forces of Xerxes advanced in order of battle, the Greeks remained on their station at Artemisium. The Barbarians, as if to render themselves secure of them all, enclosed them in a semicircle. The Greeks met them, and a battle ensued, which was fought on both sides on equal terms. The fleet of Xerxes, from the size and number of its vessels, was much perplexed by their falling foul of each other; they

fought however with firmness, and refused to give way, for they could not bear to be put to flight by so inferior a force. In the conflict many Grecian vessels perished, with a great number of men; but the loss of the Barbarians was much greater in both. They separated as by mutual consent*.

XVII. Of all those in the fleet of Xerxes, the Ægyptians performed the most important service; they distinguished themselves throughout, and took five Grecian vessels, with all their men. Of the confederates, the Athenians were most conspicuous; and of these the bravest was Clinias, son of Alcibiades [12]. His ship, which carried two hundred men, was equipped and manned at his own expence.

XVIII. The two fleets eagerly retired to their respective stations. The Greeks retained the wrecks of their vessels which were damaged, and possessed

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* At the battle of Artemisium, the Athenians most distinguished themselves among the Greeks,—the Sidonians among the Barbarians. See Plutarch de sera numinis vindicta, where a fragment of Pindar, relating to this battle, is preserved.

[12] *Clinias, son of Alcibiades.*]—Upon this personage Valcnaer has a very elaborate and learned note; but I do not see that it contains any thing particularly claiming the attention of the English reader, except that he was the father of the famous Alcibiades, afterwards so celebrated in Greece.—*T.*

possessed the bodies of their dead; but as they had suffered severely, and particularly the Athenians, the half of whose vessels were disabled, they deliberated about retiring to the remoter parts of Greece.

XIX. Themistocles had constantly believed, that if he could detach the Ionians and Carians [13] from the Barbarians, there would be no difficulty in overpowering the rest. Whilst the Eubœans were assembling their cattle on the sea-coast, he called the chiefs together, and informed them he had conceived a method, which he believed would deprive the king of the best of his allies. At this juncture he explained himself no farther, adding only his advice, that they should kill as much of the cattle of the Eubœans as they possibly could; for

[13] *Carians.*]—Originally these people inhabited the islands lying near their own coast, and so much only of the Ægean sea as was called the Icarian, of which Icarus, the *island of Caria*, was the principal island; they were then named Leleges and Pelasgi.—*See Strabo*, l. xii. 661.—572. Afterwards, removing to the continent, they seized upon a large tract of the sea-coast, as well as of the inland country: "This," says Strabo, "was the opinion most generally allowed."—Homer applies to the Carians the epithet of βαρβαροφωνων.—Strabo supposes them to have been so called, from ὡς κακως Ελληνιζοντες, and that at first a person was called barbarous, whose speech was thick and coarse, παχυστομος, though afterwards the word was extended to a more general sense.—Tibullus calls the Latin Turnus barbarous, l. ii. el. 5.

Jam tibi prædico, barbare Turne, necem. *T.*

for it was much better that their troops should enjoy them than those of the enemy. He recommended them to order their respective people to kindle a fire, and told them that he would be careful to select a proper opportunity for their departure to Greece. His advice was approved, the fires were kindled, and the cattle slain.

XX. The Eubœans, paying no manner of regard to the oracle of Bacis, had neither removed any of their effects, nor prepared any provision; which it certainly became those to do, who were menaced by a war: their neglect had rendered their affairs extremely critical. The oracle of Bacis[14] was to this effect:

"When barb'rous hosts with Byblus yoke the main,
"Then drive your cattle from Eubœa's plain."

As they made no use of this declaration, either in their present evils or to guard against the future, they might naturally expect the worst.

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[14] *The oracle of Bacis.*]—There were three soothsayers of this name; the moft ancient was of Eleus in Bœotia, the second of Athens, and the third of Caphya in Arcadia. This last was also called Cydus and Aletes, and wonderful things are related of him by Theopompus.—*Larcher.*

See the Peace of Aristophenes, where the poet speaks with a sneer of these oracles of Bacis.

This is very true, says Herodotus; that is, if the nymphs have not deluded Bacis, and if Bacis is not deluded by mortals.

XXI. At this period there arrived a spy from Trachis; there was one also at Artemisium, whose name was Polyas, a native of Anticyra. He had a swift vessel with oars constantly in readiness, and was directed to communicate, to those at Thermopylæ, the event of any engagement which might take place at sea. There was also with Leonidas an Athenian named Abronychus, the son of Lysicles, who was prepared with a thirty-oared vessel to give immediate information to those at Artemisium of whatever might happen to the land forces. This man arrived at Artemisium, and informed the Greeks of what had befallen Leonidas and his party. On receiving his intelligence, they thought it expedient not to defer their departure, but to separate in the order in which they were stationed, the Corinthians first, the Athenians last.

XXII. Themistocles [15], selecting the swiftest of the Athenian vessels, went with them to a watering place, and there engraved upon the rocks these words, which the Ionians, coming the

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[15] *Themistocles.*]—Bartelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, divides the Athenian history into three distinct intervals, which he calls the commencement, the progress, and the fall, of that empire. The first he names the age of Solon, or of the laws; the second, the age of Themistocles, and Aristides, or of glory; the third, the age of Pericles, or of luxury and the arts.—*T.*

the next day to Artemisium, perused: "Men of "Ionia, in fighting against your ancestors, and "endeavouring to reduce Greece to servitude, "you are guilty of injustice: take, therefore, an "active part in our behalf; if this be impracti- "cable, retire yourselves from the contest, and "prevail on the Carians to do the same. If you "can comply with neither of these requisitions, "and are so bound by necessity that you cannot "openly revolt, when the conflict begins, re- "tire; remembering that you are descended from "ourselves, and that the first occasion of our "dispute with the Barbarians originated with "you." Themistocles, in writing the above, had, as I should suppose, two objects in view. If what he said were concealed from the king, the Ionians might be induced to go over to the Greeks; and if Xerxes should know it, it might incline him to distrust the Ionians, and employ them no more by sea.

XXIII. When Themistocles had written the above, a man of Histiæa hastened in a small vessel to inform the Barbarians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium. Distrusting the intelligence, they ordered the man into close custody, and sent some swift vessels to ascertain the truth. These confirmed the report; and as soon as the sun rose the whole fleet in a body sailed to Artemisium; remaining here till mid-day, they proceeded

proceeded to Histiæa: they then took possession of the city of the Histiæans, and over-ran part of Hellopia [16], and all the coast of Histiæotis.

XXIV. Whilst his fleet continued at Histiæotis, Xerxes, having prepared what he intended concerning the dead, sent to them a herald. The preparations were these: Twenty thousand men had been slain at Thermopylæ, of these one thousand were left on the field, the rest were buried in pits sunk for the purpose; these were afterwards filled up, and covered with leaves, to prevent their being perceived by the fleet. The herald, on his arrival at Histiæa, assembled the forces, and thus addressed them: "Xerxes the king, O "allies, permits whoever chooses it to leave his "post, and see in what manner he contends with "those foolish men, who had hoped to overcome "him."

XXV. Immediately on this declaration, scarce a boat remained behind, so many were eager to see the spectacle. Coming to the spot, they beheld the bodies of the dead. Though a number of

[16] *Hellopia.*]—The whole island of Eubœa was anciently called Helapia. I understand that the Hebrew word which we pronounce Hellap, means of a clear countenance; for this reason the people round Dodona were called Elli and Ellopes, and their country also Ellopia.—*T.*

of Helots[17] were among them, they supposed that all whom they saw were Lacedæmonians and Thespians. This subterfuge of Xerxes did not deceive those who beheld it; it could not fail of appearing exceedingly ridiculous, to see a thousand Persian bodies on the field, and four thousand Greeks crowded together on one spot. After a whole day had been thus employed, the troops returned on the following one to the fleet at Histiæa, and Xerxes with his army proceeded on their march.

XXVI. A small number of Arcadians deserted * to the Persian army: they were destitute of provisions, and wished to be employed. Being introduced to the royal presence, and interrogated by several Persians, and by one in particular, concerning the Greeks, and how they were then employed: "At present," they replied, "they "are celebrating the Olympic games, and be- "holding gymnastic and equestrian exercises."

Being

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[17] *Helots.*]—I have in a preceding note spoken of the Helots; but for more particulars concerning them, I beg leave to refer the reader to a Dissertation on the History and Servitude of the Helots, by M. Capperonier, published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.—*T.*

* No author, says Larcher, has specified who were the people of Arcadia that deserted to the Persians. From a passage in Vitruvius, book i. c. 1. they appear to have been those of Carga.—See Larcher's note.

Being a second time asked what was the prize for which they contended, they answered, "An "olive garland." On this occasion Tigranes [18], the son of Artabanus, having expressed himself in a manner which proved great generosity of soul, was accused by the king of cowardice. Hearing that the prize was not money, but a garland, he exclaimed before them all—"What "must those men be, O Mardonius, against "whom you are conducting us, who contend not "for wealth, but for virtue?"

XXVII. After the above calamity at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phoceans, with whom they had before been at enmity [19], but

[18] *Tigranes.*]—Many learned men are of opinion, that this name is derived from the Togarmah of scripture, and given to the chiefs of that house; see Ezekiel, xxxviii. 6.—"Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands." Josephus writes Togarmah's name, Θυγραμμης, Thygrammis, which some copies render Thygran, neither of them very unlike Tigranes.—*T.*

[19] *Enmity.*]—The Thessalians, being natives of Thesprotia, had seized Æolia, afterwards called Thessaly, whence they attempted to penetrate into Phocea, by the passage of Thermopylæ; but the Phoceans in this place constructed a wall, which checked their incursions. This was the source of the hatred which these people bore each other, and which was carried to such extremities, that the Thessalians in one day cut the throats of all the magistrates and princes of the Phoceans, who, in return, beat to death two hundred and fifty hostages they had in their hands.—*Larcher.*

but particularly so after their last overthrow. Some years antecedent to this expedition of the king, the Thessalians in a body, in conjunction with their allies, had attacked the Phoceans, but had been driven back and roughly handled. The Phoceans, being surrounded at Parnassus, happened to have with them Tellias [20] of Eleum, the soothsayer,

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[20] *Tellias.*]—He was the chief of the family of the Telliadæ, in which the art of divination was hereditary. In gratitude for the victory which they obtained through his means, the Phoceans made a statue of Tellias, which they sent to Delphi, with those of the chiefs and heroes of their country. —*Larcher.*

Compare the account here given by Herodotus with that of Pausanias, l. x. c. i. and the Stratagemata of Polyænus, l. vi. c. 18.—See also Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.

To revenge the above-mentioned murder of their hostages, the Thessalians marched against the Phoceans, determining to spare no men that were of age, and to sell the women and children for slaves. Diaphantus, governor of Phocis, on hearing this, persuaded his countrymen to go and meet the Thessalians, and to collect their women and children in one place, round whom they were to pile combustible materials, and to place a watch, who, if the Phoceans should be defeated, were to set fire to the pile. To this, one person objected, saying, the women ought to be consulted on the business. The women hearing of this, assembled together, and not only agreed to it, but highly applauded Diaphantus for proposing it. It is also said, that the children also met together, and resolved on the same thing. The Phoceans afterwards engaging the enemy at Cleon, a place in Hyampolis, were victorious. The Greeks called this resolution of the Phocean women *aponoia*, desperation. The greatest feast of the Phoceans is that which they celebrated at Hyampolis, and called *Elaphebolia*, in commemoration of this victory.

soothsayer, at whose instigation they concerted the following stratagem: They selected six hundred of their bravest men, whose persons and arms they made white with chalk: they thus sent them against the Thessalians, under cover of the night, commanding them to put every one to death who was not whited like themselves. The Thessalian out-posts, who first saw them, conceived them to be something supernatural. These communicated their panic to the body of the army, in consequence of which the Phoceans slew four thousand, and carried away their shields: half of these shields were consecrated at Abas, and half at Delphi. A tenth part of the money which resulted from this victory, was applied to erect the large statues which are to be seen round the tripod before the temple at Delphi: an equal number were erected at Abas.

XXVIII. The Phoceans thus treated the Thessalian foot, by whom they had been surrounded: their horse, which had made incursions into their country, they effectually destroyed. At the entrance to Phocis near Hyampolis they sunk a deep trench, into which having thrown a number of empty casks, they covered them with earth to the level of the common ground. They then waited to receive the attack of the Thessalians: these advancing, as if to capture the Phoceans, fell in among

among the casks, by which the legs of their horses were broken*.

XXIX. These two disasters had so much exasperated the Thessalians, that they sent a herald to say thus to the Phoceans: "As you are now, "O Phoceans, rendered wiser by experience, it "becomes you to acknowledge yourselves our "inferiors. When we formerly thought it consistent to be united with the Greeks, we were "always superior to you: we have now so much "influence with the Barbarians, that it is in our "power to strip you of your country, and reduce you to slavery. We are nevertheless willing to forget past injuries, provided you will "pay us fifty talents: on these terms we engage "to avert the evils which threaten your country."

XXX. Such was the application of the Thessalians to the Phoceans, who alone, of all the people of this district, did not side with the Medes, and for no other reason, as far as I am able to conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians. If the Thessalians had favoured the Greeks, the Phoceans I believe would have attached

* If the reader will consult Pausanias, Plato, and indeed various other ancient writers, he will find that the Thessalian cavalry were in high reputation.

tached themselves to the Medes. The Phoceans in reply refused to give the money: they had the same opportunity, they added, of uniting with the Medes, as the Thessalians, if they wished to change their sentiments; but they expressed themselves unalterably reluctant to desert the cause of Greece.

XXXI. This answer of the Phoceans so irritated the people of Thessaly, that they offered themselves as guides to the Barbarian army, which they conducted from Trachis to Doris. The passage of this district is not more than thirty stadia in extent, it is situate betwixt Melias and Phocis, and was before called Dryopis. The Dorians are the original and principal people of the Peloponnese. The Barbarians penetrated into Doria, but without committing any devastations. The Thessalians did not wish them to commit any violence here, and indeed the inhabitants had embraced the interests of the Medes.

XXXII. The Barbarians passed from Doris into Phocis, but did not make themselves masters of the persons of the inhabitants. Of these, some had taken refuge on the summits of Parnassus[21], at

[21] *Parnassus.*]—This celebrated mountain had a forked summit with two vertices; of these one was sacred to

at a place called Tithorea, near the city Neon, capable of containing a great number of people. A greater number had fled to Amphissa, a town of the Ozolæ Locrians, beyond the plain of Crisæum. The Barbarians effectually over-ran Phocis, to which the Thessalians conducted them; whatever they found they destroyed with fire and sword, and both the cities and sacred temples were burned.

Apollo, the other to Bacchus.—See Joddrel on Euripides, p. 19. Sir George Wheler, in his Travels into Greece, has given an engraving of this circumstance, so often celebrated by the Greek and Roman poets; and he observes, that the high cliffs seem to end in two points from the town of Delphi. He also adds, that there is a fountain with a very plentiful source of water continually flowing out from a cavity close to this mountain, which, by the marble steps leading to it, should be the fountain Castalia. Lucan observes, that at the time of the deluge Parnassus was the only mountain, and that too with one of its tops only, which projected above the water, l. v. 75.

> Hoc solum fluctu terras mergente cacumen
> Eminuit, pontoque fuit discrimen et astris.

Which lines are thus diffusely rendered by Rowe:

> When o'er the world the deluge wide was spread,
> This only mountain rear'd its lofty head;
> One rising rock preserv'd, a bound was given
> Between the vasty deep and ambient heaven.
>
> *L.* v. *ver.* 17.

Sir George Wheler says, "I esteem this mountain not only the highest in all Greece, but one of the highest in all the world, and not inferior to mount Cenis among the Alps."

XXXIII. Proceeding along the river Cephissus, they extended their violence throughout Phocis. On one side they burned the city Drymon, on the other Charadra, Erochos, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon [22], Pedieas, Triteas, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamios, and Abas. At this last place is an edifice sacred to Apollo, abounding in wealth, and full of various treasures [23] and offerings. Here at that time was an oracle, as indeed there is at present. Having plundered this temple, they set it on fire. They pursued the Phoceans, and overtook some of them near the mountains; many of their female captives died, from the great numbers who committed violence on their persons.

XXXIV. Passing the Parapotamians, they came to the Paropeans [24]. At this place the army was divided into two bodies, of which the one most numerous and powerful proceeded towards Athens, entering Bœotia through the Orchomenian

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[22] *Neon.*]—M. Larcher thinks, and with great reason, that the Neon in this passage should be read Cleon.

[23] *Treasures.*]—As the greater part of the Grecian cities sent their wealth to Delphi, it is very probable, says M. Larcher, that those of Phocis deposited theirs at Abas.

[24] *Paropeans.*]—D'Anville, in his Geography, reverses this order, and places the Paropeans before the Parapotamians.

nian territories. The Bœotians in general had taken part with the Medes. Alexander, with the view of preserving the Bœotian cities, and of convincing Xerxes that the nation were really attached to him, had stationed a Macedonian detachment in each. This was the line of march pursued by one part of the Barbarians.

XXXV. The other division, keeping Parnassus to the right, advanced under the conduct of their guides to the temple of Delphi. Whatever they met in their march belonging to the Phoceans, they totally laid waste, burning the towns of the Paropeans, Daulians, and Æolians. They proceeded in this direction, after separating from the main army, with the view of plundering the temple of Delphi, and of presenting its treasures to the king. I have been informed that Xerxes had a more intimate knowlege of the treasures which this temple contained, than of those which he had left in his own palace; many having made it their business to inform him of its contents, and more particularly of the offerings of Crœsus, the son of Alyattes.

XXXVI. The Delphians on hearing this, were struck with the greatest consternation, and, applying to the oracle, desired to be instructed whether they should bury the sacred treasures in the earth, or remove them to some other place. They were

ordered not to remove them, as the deity was able to protect what belonged to him; their sole care therefore was employed about themselves, and they immediately removed their wives and children into Achaia. Of the people the greater part fled to the summits of Parnassus, and to the Corycian cave[25]; others took refuge at Amphissa in Locria.

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[25] *Corycian cave.*]—This was at the base of mount Corycus, and said by Pausanias to have been of vast extent: it was sacred to the muses, who from thence were called Nymphæ Corycides. See Ovid, Met. i. 320.

Corycidas nymphas et numina montis adorant.

It should seem, that in the countries of the East subterraneous caves were very frequent, and used by shepherds to sleep in, or as folds for their flocks in the evening. The Syrian coast, or rather the mountains on this coast, are remarkable for the number of caves in them.—*See Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. iii. p. 61.

We find in the History of the Croisades, by the archbishop of Tyre, that Baldwin the First presented himself, with some troops which he had got together, before Ascalon; that the citizens were afraid to venture out to fight with him. Upon which, finding it would be to no advantage to continue there, he ranged about the plains between the mountains and the sea, and found villages whose inhabitants, having left their houses, had retired with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into *subterraneous caves.*

See also 1 Samuel, xiii. 11.

" And both of them discovered themselves unto the garrison of the Philistines; and the Philistines said, Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the *holes* where they had hid themselves."

Again—Judges, vi. 2.

" And

cria. Excepting by sixty men, with the principal priest, the city of Delphi was entirely deserted.

XXXVII. When the Barbarians approached, and were in sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, observed that the sacred arms, which had ever been preserved in the sanctuary, and which it was impious to touch, were removed [26] to the outward front of the temple; he hastened to acquaint those Delphians who remained of the prodigy. The enemy continued to advance; and when they came to the temple of Minerva Pronea, more portentous appearances were seen. It might be thought sufficiently

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" And because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the *dens* which are in the mountains, and *caves*, and strong holds."—*T.*

[26] *Were removed.*]—A little before the battle of Leuctra it was said that the temples opened of themselves, and that the arms which were in the temple of Hercules disappeared, as if Hercules himself was gone to be present at that engagement. But many did not scruple to say, that these miracles were contrived by the magistrates.—*Xenophon.*

Julius Obsequens, in his enumeration of the Roman prodigies, says, that A. U. 652. Hastæ Martis in regia sua sponte motæ--The spears of Mars, preserved in the palace moved of their own accord. Amongst the prognostics which preceded the assassination of Cæsar, Virgil mentions the sound of arms heard all over Germany.

> Armorum sonitum toto Germania cælo
> Audiit. *T.*

ciently wonderful, that the arms should spontaneously have removed themselves to the outward part of the temple; but what afterwards happened was yet more astonishing. As the Barbarians drew near the temple of Minerva Pronea, a storm of thunder burst upon their heads; two immense fragments of rock [27] were separated from the tops of Parnassus, which, rolling down with a horrid noise, destroyed a vast multitude. At the same time there proceeded from the shrine of the goddess, loud and martial shouts.

XXXVIII. This accumulation of prodigies impressed so great a terror on the Barbarians, that

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[27] *Fragments of rock.*]—

> The double head
> Of tall Parnassus reeling from the crag
> Unloos'd two fragments: mountainous in bulk
> They roll to Delphi, with a crashing sound
> Like thunder nigh, whose burst of ruin strikes
> The shatter'd car with horror.—
> They move, and passing by Minerva's grove,
> Two monuments of terror see.—There stopp'd
> The massy fragments from Parnassus rent;
> An act of nature, by some latent cause
> Disturb'd. Tremendous o'er Barbarian ranks
> The ruins down the sacred way had roll'd,
> Leaving its surface horrible to sight,
> Such as might startle war's remorseless god,
> And shake his heart of adamant. *Athenaid.*

The same events are recorded by Diodorus Siculus, l. xi. & c. 4.

that they fled in confusion. The Delphians, perceiving this [28], descended and slew a great number. They who escaped, fled to Bœotia; these, as I have been informed, related that besides the above prodigies, they saw also two armed beings of more than human size, who pursued and slaughtered them.

XXXIX. The Delphians say that these two were heroes, and natives of the country, their names Phylacus and Autonous, to whom some buildings near the temple had been consecrated. That of Phylacus, stands on the public road near the temple of Minerva Pronea, that of Autonous, near Castalia, beneath the Hyampean vertex. The rocky fragments which fell from Parnassus have been preserved within my remembrance near the temple of Minerva Pronea, where they first fixed themselves, after rolling through the Barbarian ranks. In this manner was the enemy obliged to retreat from the temple.

XL. The Grecian fleet, after their departure from Artemisium, at the request of the Athenians,

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[28] *Perceiving this.*]—

The Delphian race,
By fear so lately to the neighbouring hills
And caves restrain'd, forsake their shelt'ring holds;
In clusters rushing on the foes dismay'd,
Accomplish their defeat. *Athenaid.*

nians, came to an anchor at Salamis. The motive of the Athenians in soliciting this, was to have the opportunity of removing their wives and families from Attica, as well as to deliberate upon what measures they should pursue. To this also they were farther induced, because things had hitherto happened contrary to their expectations. They had hoped that the people of the Peloponnese, in one collected body, would wait the approach of the Barbarians in Bœotia. Instead of which, they learned that they were satisfied with fortifying the isthmus of the Peloponnese with a wall, careful of their own security alone. The Athenians were induced, in consequence of this intelligence, to entreat the allies to station themselves at Salamis.

XLI. Whilst the rest of the allies continued with the fleet, the Athenians returned to their country, where they proclaimed by a herald[29], that every Athenian was to preserve his family and effects by the best means in his power. The greater number took refuge at Trœzene, others fled to Ægina, and some to Salamis, each being anxious to save what was dear to him, and to

[29] *By a herald.*]—It was criminal at Athens to abandon their country in time of danger, or even to remove their wives and children from the perils which impended, till permission was given by a public proclamation.—*Larcher.*

to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. It is asserted by the Athenians, that there is a large serpent [30] in the temple of the citadel, which continually defends it. Of this they have such an entire conviction, that they offer to it every month cakes of honey: these had before always been regularly consumed, at this juncture they were untouched [31]. The priestess having made this incident known, the Athenians still more precipitately deserted the city, believing that their goddess had abandoned the citadel. Removing, therefore, all their effects, they hastened to join the fleet.

XLII. When it was generally known that those who had left Artemisium, had taken their station at Salamis, all the vessels which were at Trœzene hastened to join them; orders having been previously issued to assemble at Pogon and Trœzene. A much larger fleet was now got together than had before fought at Artemisium, and they were manned by a greater number of different nations. Eurybiades, the son of Euryclidas,

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[30] *Large serpent.*]—See Bryant on the subject of serpent-worship, vol. i. p. 476, &c. The Athenians were esteemed Serpentigenæ, and they had a tradition that the chief guardian of their Acropolis was a serpent, &c.—*T.*

[31] *Untouched.*]—It appears that Themistocles was at the bottom of all these pretended miracles, and of this in particular. See his Life, as given by Plutarch.

clidas, who had commanded at Artemisium, was the leader also on the present occasion, though not of the blood royal. The vessels of the Athenians were the most numerous, and the best sailers.

XLIII. The fleet was thus composed: of the people of the Peloponnese, the Lacedæmonians furnished sixteen vessels, the Corinthians the same number as at Artemisium, the Sicyonians fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Trœzenians five, the Hermionians three. All these, except the Hermionians, were Dorians and Macedonians, coming from Erineus, Pindus, and Dryopis. The Hermionians are from Dryopis, they had formerly been expelled by Hercules and the Melians of the district now called Doris.—These were the forces from the Peloponnese.

XLIV. Of those situated upon the exterior continent, the Athenians alone furnished one hundred and eighty vessels, a number equal to all the rest. The Platæans were not present at the battle of Salamis, and for this reason; when the Greeks departing from Artemisium touched at Chalcis, the Platæans, landing on the opposite coast of Bœotia, employed themselves in removing their families and effects, in doing which they were left behind. The Athenians were Pelasgi, and called Cranai, when that region now named Greece

Greece was possessed by the Pelasgi: under Cecrops[32] they took the name of Cecropidæ. The title of Athenians was given them when Erectheus succeeded to the throne: their name of Ionians[33] was derived from Ion, who had been general of the Athenian forces.

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[32] *Cecrops.*]—Strabo cites Hecatæus, who said that Peloponnesus was inhabited by the Barbari before it was possessed by the Greeks; and adds, that almost all Greece was anciently the seat of this strange people. Among other proofs he alleges several names of persons, such as Cecrops, Codrus, &c. which he says evidently prove a foreign language; το βαρβαρον εμφαινεται.

Thucydides, l. i. at the beginning, with the Scholia says, that the Ionians were called Pelargi or Pelasgi. The name Pelargus is usually taken for a *saunterer*, πλανητικος; this shews that it was originally used as a word of reproach. Strabo evidently derives the wandering temper of the Pelargi, or Pelasgi, from the Greek αργος, explaining the word πολυπλανον by ταχυ προς αναστασεις, quick in changing their settlements.—*T.*

Ægeus of Athens, according to Androtion, was of the serpent breed; and the first king of the country is said to have been Δρακων, a dragon. Others make Cecrops the first who reigned; he is said to have been of a twofold nature, being formed with the body of a man, blended with that of a serpent. Diodorus says that this was a circumstance deemed by the Athenians inexplicable, yet he labours to explain it by representing Cecrops as half a man and half a brute, &c. —*Bryant*, vol. i. 484, *&c.*

[33] *Ionians.*]—See Genesis, x. 4.

"And the sons of Javan, Elishah, and Tarshish, and Chittim, and Dodanim."

Bochart places Javan and his sons in Europe, assigning to the father, Greece; to Elisha, Peloponnesus; to Tarshish, Tartessus

XLV. The Megareans supplied the same number of vessels as at Artemisium. The Ampraciotæ brought a reinforcement of seven ships; the Leucadii, a Dorian nation, originally from Corinth, furnished three.

XLVI. Of the people of the islands, the Æginetæ provided thirty vessels, they had others also, but these were employed in defending their coasts: the thirty, in which they fought at Salamis, were the best equipped, and the swiftest sailers. The Æginetæ are Dorians, originally of Epidaurus, and their island was formerly called Œnone. Next to this people, the Chalcidians, as at Artemisium, supplied twenty ships, the Eretrians seven; these are Ionians. An equal number was furnished by the people of Ceos, who also are Ionians of Athenian descent. The Naxians brought four vessels: these, with the rest of the islanders, had been desired by the majority of their countrymen to take part with the Medes, but they had gone over to the Greeks, by the persuasion of Democritus, a man of considerable distinction, and at that time trierarch. The Naxians also are Ionians, and of Athenian origin. The Styreans appeared with the same number

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Tartessus in Spain; to Chittim, Latium in Italy; and to Dodanim, a part of France, l. iii. c. 7.—Javan he considers as the prince of Ionia.—*T.*

number of ships as at Artemisium; the Cythnians[34] brought only one, and that of fifty oars: both these last people are Dryopians. The allies were farther assisted by the Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians, who alone, of the islanders, had refused to render the Barbarian earth and water.

XLVII. All these different people who inhabit the region betwixt the Thesproti and the river Acheron[35], appeared as confederates in the war. The

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[34] *Cythnians.*]—These islanders were of no great strength or importance. "If," says Demosthenes, "I considered you as like the Siphnians, Cythnians, or such people, I would not recommend you to adopt sentiments so elevated."—*Larcher.*

[35] *Acheron.*]—Here Hercules descended into hell, and hither he brought back with him the dog Cerberus, whose foam overspread the country with aconitum. Adonis was celebrated for having the liberty of descending to Acheron, or the infernal regions, and of returning again at certain seasons. See Theocritus, Idyl. iii. 48. with Scholia; see also Theoc. Id. xv. 135; where Adonis is said to be the only hero who had this privilege:

Ημιθεων ὡς φαντι μονωτατος.

The descent into hell is generally understood to be a form of admission into the mysteries, for all those more especially who endeavoured to prove themselves the most illustrious benefactors to mankind. Of these mysteries the Ægyptians may perhaps be esteemed the original authors; and that the descent of their king Rhampsinitus to the infernal regions is older than that of Hercules. Homer, in the 10th Od. enumerates

The Thesproti are contiguous both to the Ampraciotæ and Leucadii, who came on this occasion from the remotest limits of Greece. Of the nations still farther distant, the Crotoniatæ alone, with one vessel[36], assisted Greece in its danger: it

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merates Acheron among the rivers of hell, saying that the Phlegethon and Cocytus flow into it, εις Αχεροντα ρεουσι. Pope incorrectly renders this the flaming gulph of Acheron; Homer says no such thing.—*T.*

[36] *One vessel.*]—Pausanias says that this vessel was provided and manned at the private expence of Phayllus; which induces Valcnaer to believe that the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt, and that instead of νηϊ μιῃ, we should read οικηϊῃ νηϊ. Plutarch also, in his Life of Alexander, says, that the Crotoniatæ were permitted to plunder the Persians, out of respect to Phayllus, who equipped a vessel at his own expence to assist the Greeks at Salamis.

There was a statue at Delphi of this Phayllus.

I find mention made of Phayllus twice in Aristophanes; once in the Acharnenses, 210.

—— ος' ερω φερων
Ανθρακων φορτιον
Ηκολυθουν Φαυλλῳ τρεχων.

In the Scholiast to which passage we are told that there were others of this name. Concerning this there is a Greek epigram, which says he could leap fifty-five feet, and throw the discus ninety-five.

Πεντ' επι πεντηκοντα ποδας πηδησε Φαϋλλος,
Δισκευσεν δ' εκατον πεντ' απολειπομενων.

Which I have somewhere seen thus rendered in Latin:

Saltum ad quinque pedes quinquagintaque Phayllus,
Discum ad centum egit quinque minus pedibus.

He is again mentioned in the Vespæ, 1201, for his swiftness in the course.—*T.*

it was commanded by Phayllus, a man who had been three times victorious[37] at the Pythian games.—The Crotoniatæ are of Achæan origin.

XLVIII. The allies in general furnished triremes for the service: the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, brought vessels of fifty oars; the Melians two, the Siphnians and Seriphians one each. The Melians are of Spartan extraction[38]: the Siphnians and Seriphians are Ionians, and descended from the Athenians. Without taking into the account these vessels of fifty oars, the fleet consisted of three hundred and seventy-eight ships.

XLIX. When all these different nations were assembled at Salamis, a council was called of their leaders. At the suggestion of Eurybiades, it was proposed that each should deliver his opinion, what place of those which they yet possessed,

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[37] *Three times victorious.*]—Pausanias says, that he was twice victorious in the contests of the Pentathlon, and once in those of the Stadium.

[38] *Spartan extraction.*]—Thucydides, book v. says the same thing; Μηλιοι Λακεδαιμονιων μεν εισιν αποικοι, the Melians are a Lacedæmonian colony: so also does Xenophon, Hist. Græc. l. ii. The particulars of their migration are related at length by Plutarch, in his Treatise of the Virtues of Women, where he speaks of the Tyrrhene women.—*T.*

sessed, would be most proper for a naval engagement. Attica was considered as totally lost, and the object of their deliberation was the rest of Greece. It seemed to be the opinion of the majority, that they should sail to the isthmus, and risk a battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnese; for if, it was urged, a defeat should be the issue of a contest at Salamis, they would be exposed to a siege on the island, without the prospect of relief; but from the isthmus they might easily retire to their respective countries.

L. Whilst the leaders were revolving this matter, a messenger arrived from Athens, to inform them that the Barbarian had penetrated Attica, and was burning all before him. The forces under Xerxes, in their passage through Bœotia, had set fire to the city of the Thespians, who had retired to the Peloponnese. They had also burned the city of the Platæans, and proceeding onwards, were now about to ravage Athens [39]. They had so

[39] *Ravage Athens.*]—The following lines, describing the advance of Xerxes to Athens, are highly animated and poetical:

Her olive groves now Attica display'd;
The fields where Ceres first her gifts bestow'd,
The rocks whose marble crevices the bees
With sweetness stor'd; unparallel'd in art
Rose structures growing on the stranger's eye
Where'er

so treated Thespia and Platæa, because informed by the Thebans that these places were hostile to them.

LI. After passing the Hellespont, the Barbarians had remained a month* in its vicinity, before they advanced: three more were employed in their march to Attica, where they arrived when Calliades was chief magistrate. They found the city deserted; an inconsiderable number remained in the temple, with the treasurers[40] of the temple, and a few of the meaner sort, who, with a pallisade of wood, attempted to prevent the approach of the enemy to the citadel. These had not gone to Salamis, being deterred partly by their indigence, and partly from their confidence in the declaration of the oracle, that a wall of

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Where'er it roam'd delighted. On like Death,
From his pale courser scatt'ring waste around,
The regal homicide of nations pass'd,
Unchaining all the furies of revenge
On this devoted country, &c. *Athenaid.*

* See book vii. c. 56.

This passage, as Larcher observes, has not the author's usual perspicuity.

40 *Treasurers.*]—See Suidas, at the word Ταμιαι; these, he tells us, were Athenian magistrates, and were ten in number: the shrine of Minerva, of Victory, with their ornaments and wealth, were delivered to them in the presence of the senate.

of wood would prove invincible. This they referred not to the ships, but to the defence of wood, which on this occasion they had formed.

LII. The Persians encamped on the hill opposite the citadel, which the Athenians call the hill of Mars[41], and thus commenced their attack: they shot against the intrenchment of wood arrows wrapped in tow, and set on fire. The Athenians, although reduced to the last extremity, and involved in the fire which had caught their barricade, obstinately refused to listen to conditions, and would not hear the Pisistratidæ, who on certain terms invited them to surrender. They resisted to the last, and when the Persians were just about to enter, they rolled down upon them stones of an immense size. Xerxes, not able

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[41] *Hill of Mars.*]—On this place was held the celebrated court of the Areopagus, of which, as it bore so high a rank in the constitution of the Athenian republic, the following succinct account from Gillies may be acceptable.

"The court of the Areopagus, originally entrusted with the criminal jurisdiction, assumed an extensive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens: it consisted only of such magistrates as had discharged with approbation the duties of their respective offices. The members were named for life, and as from the nature of the institution they were generally persons of a mature age, of an extensive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had seen the vanity of ambition, they were well qualified to restrain the impetuous passions of the multitude, and to stem the torrent of popular phrenzy."

able to force the place, was for a long time exceedingly perplexed.

LIII. In the midst of their embarrassment the Barbarians discovered a resource: indeed the oracle had declared, that whatever the Athenians possessed on the continent, should be reduced to the power of the Persians. In the front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the regular ascent, there was a cragged and unguarded pass, by which it was not thought possible that any man could force his way. Here, however, some of the enemy mounted, near the temple of Aglauros[42], the daughter of Cecrops. As soon as the Athenians discovered them, part threw themselves over the wall and were killed, others retired into the building. The Persians who entered, forced their way to the gates, threw them open, and put the suppliants to death who had there taken refuge: they afterwards plundered and set fire to the citadel.

LIV. As soon as Xerxes found himself entire master

[42] *Aglauros.*]—This word is written Aglauros in Pausanias, l. i. c. 18; in Ovid. Met. l. ii. 739.

Aglauros lævum, medium possederat Herse.

Larcher nevertheless, on the authorities of Apollodorus and of Stephen of Byzantium, writes it Agraulos; see his elaborate note.

master of Athens, he sent a horseman to Susa, to inform Artabanus of his success. On the following day, he called together the Athenian exiles who were with him, and ordered them to go to the citadel, and there offer sacrifice, according to the custom of their country. He was probably induced to this from some nocturnal vision, or from some compunction, on account of his having burned the temple. The exiles did as they were commanded.

LV. I will explain my reason for introducing this circumstance:—There is in the citadel, a temple sacred to Erectheus[43], who is said to have been the offspring of the earth: in this, is an olive

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[43] *Erectheus.*]—See book v. c. 82. Not only Erectheus called himself the offspring of the earth, but as I have before shewn, all the Athenians. In his temple were three altars, on the first of which they sacrificed to Neptune and Erectheus, from which Neptune was called Erecthean. See Lycophron, v. 158.

Erectheus was deified, because in a contest with Eumolpus, prince of Thrace, he was told by the oracle that if he would sacrifice his daughter before he engaged the enemy, he should be victorious; he did so, and succeeded. See the story related, *Lycurg. contra Leocrat.*—Taylor's edition, 217.

Concerning his being deemed an offspring of the earth, Farnaby, on this kind of fortuitous generation, is worth consulting, in his note on Ovid. Met. i. 416.

Pausanias, in his Atticis, c. xxvii. mentions two large figures in brass in a fighting attitude, supposed to represent Erectheus, and Immaradus, son of Eumolpus.—*T.*

olive[44] and a sea[45], believed to have been placed there by Neptune and Minerva, in testimony of their

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[44] *An olive.*]—This, according to Pliny, was said to exist in his time; it was in the citadel: and because goats destroy the olive and make it barren, it was forbidden to bring goats near the citadel, except once a year for the necessary sacrifice.—*Larcher.*

Some oil made of this olive which was sacred to Minerva, was given as a reward to those who conquered in the Panathenæa. See the Scholiast to the Nubes of Aristophanes, and to the 10 Nem. Ode of Pindar, ver. 65. See a whole oration of Lysias; *υπερ τε σηκε.*—*T.*

[45] *A sea.*]—This was a cistern, into which, by a subterraneous canal, sea-water was conducted.

"In itself," says Pausanias, "there is nothing remarkable; but what deserves to be related is, that when the south wind blows, a noise is heard like that of agitated waves; and upon the stone is seen the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the dispute betwixt Minerva and Neptune concerning Attica."—See *Pausanias*, l. i. c. 26.

The same thing was also said to be in the temple of Neptune Hippias, near Mantinea, and at Mylase, a town of Caria, although the gate of this last place was eighty furlongs from the sea, and Mantinea was so far inland, that the water of the sea could not come there unless by a miracle.—*Larcher.*

The word sea is used in the same manner for a large cistern by our interpreters of the bible; see 2 Kings, xxv. 13.

"And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the Lord, and the bases, and the *brazen sea* that were in the house of the Lord, did the Chaldees break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon."

This sea is described, 1 Kings, vii. 23, to be ten cubits from one brim to the other. The Greek word in Herodotus and in the Septuagint, is θαλασσα. This meaning of the

their dispute[46] concerning this country: this olive the Barbarians had burned with the temple. The Athenians, who had been sent by the king to perform the ceremonies of their religion, which was two days after the place had been burned, observed that this olive had put forth a new shoot, a cubit[47] in length.

LVI. When the Greeks at Salamis, heard what had befallen the citadel of Athens, they were seized with consternation; many of the leaders, without waiting the result of the council as to their future conduct, went hastily on board, hoisted their sails, and prepared to fly. It was instantly determined by those who remained, that they must only risk an engagement at sea, near the isthmus. At the approach of night they left the assembly, and returned to their ships.

LVII. As soon as Themistocles had retired to his

English word *sea* I do not find either in Chambers's or Johnson's Dictionary.—*T.*

[47] *Their dispute.*]—This is said to have happened in the reign of Cecrops. Neptune coming to Athens, struck with his trident the midst of the citadel, from which sprang a horse; Minerva produced an olive: Jupiter assigned the patronage of the town to Minerva.

[74] *A cubit.*]—Pausanias says two cubits. I suppose, says Larcher, the miracle increased with the time.

his vessel, Mnesiphilus *, an Athenian, came to ask him what had been the determination of the council. When he was informed of their resolution to sail to the isthmus, and come to battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnese, he expressed himself as follows: "If the allies," said he, "shall once leave Salamis, you will never have "the opportunity of fighting for your country. "The fleet will certainly separate, and each "nation return to their respective homes, and "neither Eurybiades nor any one else will be "able to prevent them: thus Greece will perish "from the want of judicious counsel. Make "haste, therefore, and endeavour to counteract "what has been determined; if it be possible, "prevail on Eurybiades to change his purpose "and continue here."

LVIII. This advice was so agreeable to Themistocles, that without returning an answer he went to the vessel of Eurybiades. As soon as he saw him, he expressed his desire to speak with him on what was of importance to the common interest: he was desired to come on board, and declare

* This Mnesiphilus, says Plutarch, was neither orator nor natural philosopher, but a professor of what was then called wisdom, which consisted in a knowledge of the arts of government, and the practical part of political freedom.—*Life of Themistocles.*

declare his sentiments. Themistocles, seated by him, related what had been said by Mnesiphilus, as from himself, which he so enforced by other arguments, that Eurybiades was brought over to his opinion, persuaded to leave his ship, and again assemble the leaders.

LIX. As soon as they were met, and before Eurybiades had explained why he had called them together, Themistocles spake at some length, and with great apparent zeal. Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian leader, interrupted him: "Themistocles," said he, "at the public games "they who rise before their time are beaten." "True," replied Themistocles, "but they who "are left behind are never crowned."

LX. Having thus gently reproved the Corinthian, he turned to Eurybiades; he did not repeat what he had said to him before, that as soon as the fleet should leave Salamis the confederates would disperse, for as they were present he did not think it proper to accuse any one. He had recourse to other arguments: "The safety of "Greece," said he, "depends on you; whe-"ther, listening to me, you come to an engage-"ment here, or, persuaded by those who are of "a contrary opinion, you shall conduct the fleet "to the isthmus; hear the arguments on both "sides, and then determine. If we fight at the

" isthmus, we must fight in the open sea, where,
" on account of our heavier vessels and inferior
" number, we shall have every disadvantage:
" add to this, that if every thing else succeed to
" our wishes, we shall yet lose Salamis, Megara,
" and Ægina. The land forces of the enemy will
" accompany their fleet, which you will thus
" draw to the Peloponnese, and involve all Greece
" in danger. By adopting what I recommend
" you will have these advantages: by fighting
" within a narrower space of sea, our small
" force will be better able to contend with the
" greater armament of the enemy, and, accord-
" ing to the common chances of war, we shall
" have a decisive advantage. For us, it must
" be most eligible to contend in a small space,
" as it is for them to fight in a large one. Thus
" also will Salamis be preserved, where our wives
" and children remain; and thus too, the very
" advantage of which you yourselves are soli-
" citous, will be secured. By remaining here,
" you will as effectually defend the Peloponnese
" as by sailing to the isthmus; and it will be ex-
" tremely injudicious to draw the enemy there.
" If, as I sincerely wish, we shall obtain the vic-
" tory, the Barbarians will neither advance to
" the isthmus, nor penetrate beyond Attica: they
" will retire in confusion. We shall thus be
" benefited by preserving Salamis, Megara, and
" Ægina, where the oracle has promised we shall
" be

" be superior to our enemy. They whose deli-
" berations are regulated by reason[48] generally
" obtain their wishes, whilst they who are rash
" in their decisions must not expect the favour
" of the gods."

LXI. Themistocles was a second time interrupted by Adimantus of Corinth, who ordered him to be silent, as not having now a country[49]; and he added that Eurybiades could only then consistently suffer Themistocles to influence his determination, when he should again have a city: this he spake in allusion to the plunder and capture of Athens. Themistocles in reply, heaped many reproaches upon the Corinthians, and upon their leader in particular; and he farther urged, that they still possessed a country and a city, in effect greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred

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[48] *Regulated by reason.*]—
True fortitude is seen in great exploits,
Which justice warrants, and which wisdom guides;
All else is tow'ring phrenzy and distraction. *Addison.*

[49] *Not having now a country.*]—
Proud Adimantus, on his birth elate,
- - - - - - arose and spake:
For public safety when in council meet
Men who have countries, silence best becomes
Him who has none—Shall such presume to vote?
Too patient Spartan, nay, to dictate here,
Who cannot tell us they possess a home, &c. *Athenaid.*

hundred vessels[50], well provided with stores and men, a force which none of the Greeks would be able to resist.

LXII. He afterwards proceeded to address himself to Eurybiades in particular. "If," said he, with greater earnestness, "you continue "here, you will deserve our universal gratitude; "if not, you will be the destroyer of Greece. "In this war our fleet constitutes our last, our "only resource. You may be assured, that unless "you accede to my advice, we will take on board "our families, and remove with them to Siris in "Italy[51], which from remote times has been "considered

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[50] *Two hundred vessels.*]—Aristotle writes, that the senate of the Areopagus gave eight drachmæ to every soldier, and thus the complement of men was soon provided. Clidemnus says that this money was procured by the artifice of Themistocles: whilst the Athenians, says he, assembled at Piræus to embark, the ægis of the statue of Minerva was lost. Themistocles pretending to make a search, found amongst the baggage an immense sum of money, which being divided, spread abundance amongst their fleet.—*Larcher.*

Thus brief he [Themistocles] clos'd:—
Athenians still possess
A city buoyant on two hundred keels.
Thou Admiral of Sparta frame thy choice;—
Fight, and Athenians shall thy arm sustain:
Retreat, Athenians shall retreat to shores
Which bid them welcome. *Athenaid.*

[51] *In Italy*]—

To Hesperian shores
For them by ancient oracles reserv'd:
Safe from insulting foes and false allies. *Athenaid.*

" considered as belonging to us, and where, if " the oracle may be credited, we ought to found " a city. Deprived of our assistance, you will " hereafter have occasion to remember my " words."

LXIII. By these arguments Eurybiades was finally influenced, principally, as I should suppose, from his fears lest, if they sailed to the isthmus, they should be deserted by the Athenians, without whose aid, they would be little able to contend with the enemy. He acceded therefore to what Themistocles proposed, and consented to stay and fight at Salamis.

LXIV. When the determination of Eurybiades was known, the confederates, wearied with altercations, prepared to engage. In this situation the morning appeared, at the dawn of which there was a convulsion of the earth, which was felt at sea. They determined therefore to supplicate the gods, and implore the interposition of the Æacidæ. This was accordingly done: after calling upon all the gods, they invoked Ajax and Telamon, and dispatched a vessel to Ægina, to entreat the aid of Æacus and the Æacidæ [52].

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[52] *Æacidæ.*]—See book v. c. 80.—Consult Pausanias, book ii. c. 29.

Near the port of the island of Ægina there is a temple of Venus, and in the most conspicuous part of the city is a temple

LXV. Dicæus the son of Theocydes, an Athenian exile, but of considerable reputation with the Medes, at the time when Attica was deserted by the Athenians, and wasted by the army of Xerxes, reported that he was with Demaratus of Sparta on the plains of Thria. Here he saw a dust as of an army of thirty thousand men advancing from Eleusis. Whilst they were wondering from whence it could proceed, Dicæus affirms that he heard a voice which seemed to him the mystic Iacchus [53]. Demaratus, being ignorant of the

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temple of Æacus, called the Æaceium. It is a square structure of white marble, in the entrance of which are the statues of the deputies who came to Æacus from all parts of Greece.

[53] *Iacchus.*] On the twentieth of the month Boëdremion, which answers to our October, which was the sixteenth day of the festival of the mysteries of Ceres, they carried from the Ceramians to Eleusis a figure of Iacchus, or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle, having a torch in his hand. During the procession they sung a hymn in honour of the god, which hymn was also called Iacchus, and in which they often repeated the word Iacche.—*Larcher.*

The word Iacchus is derived, according to Eustathius, απο τϖ ιαχειν, from bawling out. Iacchus is used by Virgil as synonymous with vinum, because Iacchus or Bacchus was the god of wine: some say he was the son of Ceres. In the mysteries here mentioned he is always joined with Ceres and Proserpine; but he is not always considered as the son of Ceres, though nursed at her breast.—See *Lucretius, and Salmasius ad Solinum*, p. 750.

The circumstance of the mystica vannus, or mystical fan, which in this solemnity was carried before the image of Iacchus,

the Eleusinian mysteries[54], inquired the meaning of the noise which he heard. " Demaratus," answered Dicæus, " some great calamity is im-
" pending over the forces of the king: Attica
" being deserted, it is evidently the divinity
" which speaks, and is now coming from Eleusis
" to assist the Athenians and their allies. If this
" shall appear in the Peloponnese, the king him-
" self, and the forces which are with him, will
" be involved in the greatest danger; if it shall
" shew itself at Salamis, the destruction of the
" king's fleet will probably ensue. Once in every
" year

Iacchus, is thus curiously explained by Servius, ad George i. 166. The fan, says he, was carried in procession before Bacchus, because they who were initiated into his mysteries are purified as corn is by the ufe of the fan or van.—*T.*

[54] *Mysteries.*]—I have before spoken on the subject of these mysteries; but the reader will find a far more particular and entertaining account of them in Warburton's Divine Legation, and in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. v. 507, &c. Warburton intimates his belief that the initiated were instructed in the unity of the Divine Being. Larcher thinks otherwise: they might perhaps, says the learned Frenchman, do this with respect to those whom they found inclined to believe this dogma; but they preached atheism to a select number, in whom they found a favourable disposition to receive it. The temple of Ceres, where these mysteries were celebrated, was one of the noblest in Greece; it is described by Strabo, book ix. and by Vitruvius, book vii. A view of it is given in " *Le Roy's Ruins of Greece*;" and it is described also by Chandler in his Travels in Greece. There were the greater and the lesser mysteries; the latter of which belonged to Proferpine.—*T.*

" year the Athenians solemnize these rites to " Ceres and Proserpine, when also they initiate " into the mysteries, such of the Greeks as may " desire it. The sound which you hear is the " cry of Iacchus*." To this he says Demaratus made him this reply: " Make no mention of this " to any one. If what you say should be com- " municated to the king, you will certainly lose " your head, and neither myself nor any one else " will be able to save you: be silent, therefore, " and leave the event to the gods." He added, that after the dust and voice which they saw and heard, a cloud appeared, which directed its course towards Salamis and the Grecian fleet. From this they concluded that the armament of Xerxes would be defeated. This was reported by Dicæus[55] the son of Theocydes; for the truth of which he appealed to Demaratus and others.

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* This reflecting age will not allow supernatural voices to be forerunners of great events, but Pagan superstition was not without its authority.

[55] *Dicæus.*]—Upon this name the following pleasant anecdote occurs in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.

A Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendour of his name, came to Athens: as I had known him at Susa, I was his conductor to the theatre. We happened to sit near a number of Athenians who were talking together—he was anxious to know their names. The first, says I, is called *Eudoxus*, that is, *the honourable;* immediately my Persian makes a low bow to *Eudoxus:* the second, I continued, is named *Polycletus*, or the *very celebrated;* another very low bow. Doubtless, says he, these two are at the head of the

LXVI. The naval troops of Xerxes, after being spectators of the slaughter of the Spartans, passed over from Trachis to Histiæa, where they remained three days: thence sailing down the Euripus, in three more they came to Phalerum[56]. The land and sea forces were neither of

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republic. Oh no, they are people whom nobody knows. That third person, who seems so infirm, is called *Megasthenes*, or *the very strong;* the fat heavy man yonder is named *Prothoos*, or *the very swift;* yon melancholy fellow's name is *Epicharis*, which means *the cheerful.* The sixth, says the Persian impatiently, how is he called? *Sostrates*, or *the saviour of the army.* He has commanded, then? No; he has never been in the service. The seventh, yonder, who is called *Clitomachus*, which signifies *illustrious warrior*, has always been a coward, and is declared infamous. The name of the eighth is *Dicæus*, or *the just*, a most notorious rascal. —I was going to name the ninth, when the stranger rose and said, How all these people disgrace their names! But at least, says I, you must confess, that their names do not make them coxcombs.—*T.*

[56] *Phalerum.*]—Athens had three ports near each other, Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerum. Phalerum was said to have been named from Phalerus, a companion of Jason in the Argonautic expedition. Theseus sailed from it for Crete, and Menestheus his successor for Troy; and it continued to be the haven of Athens to the time of Themistocles. It is a small port of a circular form; the entrance narrow, the bottom a clear fine sand, visible through the transparent water. The fane of Aristides, and his monument, which was erected at the public expence, were by this port. The capital port was Piræus.—*Chandler.*

Chandler writes Phalerum; Pococke Phalereus and Pyræium; D'Anville, Phalerus; Meursius, in his tract called Piræus, or an Essay on the Port of that Name, writes Phalerum, and properly. This was the most ancient port of the three.—*T.*

of them, as far as I can determine, less in number when they laid waste Attica, than when they first arrived at Sepias and Thermopylæ. To supply the loss of those who perished in the storm, and who were slain at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, there arrived from those nations which had not yet declared for the king, reinforcements of Melians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bactrians, who, except the Thespians and Platæans, joined him with all their troops. To these may be added the Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, with all the people of the islands, except the five states[57] before specified. The farther the Persians penetrated into Greece, by the greater numbers they were followed.

LXVII. All these troops, except the Parians, assembled at Athens or at Phalerum. The Parians[58] staid at Cythnus, waiting for the event of the war. At this juncture Xerxes visited his fleet in person, to confer with the leaders, and to acquaint himself with their sentiments. On his arrival, he presided at a council, where the princes of the different nations, and the several commanders, were placed according to the rank which

[57] *Five states.*]—Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphus, and Cythnus.

[58] *Parians.*]—The Parians shared with the Persians the disgrace of the battle of Marathon; and their perfidy to the Greeks became proverbial.—*T.*

which Xerxes had given them. The prince of Sidon first, the prince of Tyre[59] next, and the rest

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[59] *Tyre.*]—In Isaiah, chapter xxiii. ver. 10, Tyre is called the daughter of Tarshish; in the same chapter, ver. 12, Tyre is called the daughter of Sidon, I presume, on different accounts. The Syrians were originally a colony of the Sidonians, and Sidon, consequently the mother city of Tyre. By Tarshish, the Seventy universally understand Carthage: but how then could Tyre be called the daughter of Tarshish? for Carthage was the daughter of Tyre.

Herodotus, in book ii. chap. 44, speaks of the Hercules of Tyre. It has been conjectured by many learned men, that this could have been no other than the Israelitish Sampson. That this is very probable, the reader may perhaps be inclined to think from these among other reasons:

With the story of Sampson the Tyrians might easily become acquainted at Joppa, a seaport belonging to the tribe of Dan; but more especially from those Danites who removed to Laish, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and who, as Ezekiel informs us, had great commerce with the Tyrians. These Danites came from Zorah and Eshtaol, where Sampson was born and lived, and would not fail of promulgating and magnifying the exploits of their own hero. I am aware how rash it is to pronounce a sameness of person from a likeness of certain circumstances in the actions of men, but there are many particulars so striking, first in the account given of this Tyrian Hercules by Herodotus, and secondly, in the ritual prescribed for his worship, that where we can prove nothing by more solid argument, conjectures so founded may be permitted to have some weight. The story of Sampson will account for the two pillars set up in the temple of Hercules, if we consider them as placed there in commemoration of the greatest of Sampson's exploits. The various circumstances which Herodotus makes peculiar to the Tyrian Hercules, however disguised,

rest in order. The king then commissioned Mardonius to inquire of them individually whether they were willing to engage the enemy.

LXVIII. Mardonius began with the prince of Sidon, and from him went to the rest; and they were all of opinion that a battle should be fought;

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disguised, are all reducible and relative to this last action of Sampson. 1. Hercules, being apprehended by the Ægyptians, was led in procession as a sacrifice to Jupiter; and the Philistines proclaimed a feast, to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god, and to rejoice, because Sampson was delivered into their hands. 2. Whilst Hercules stood at the altar, he remained quiet for a season; and so did Sampson when his strength was departed from him. 3. But in a short time Hercules returned to his strength, and slew all the Ægyptians.—Concerning the ritual used in the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, Bochart remarks there were many things in it not practised elsewhere. Let the reader judge from what follows whether they do not seem borrowed from the Levitical Law, or grounded on what the Scripture relates of Sampson. The total disuse of images, the prohibition of swine in sacrifice, the habit of the priest, his embroidered stole, &c. and naked feet, the strict chastity exacted of him, the fire everburning on the altar, are all of them precepts which Moses delivered. Why may we not add that the exclusion of women from the temple, and the shaven head of the priests, were intended to brand the treacherous behaviour of Dalilah, and to commemorate the loss of Sampson's locks? Appian, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus, acknowledge these to have been Phœnician rites, and different from any observed amongst the Greeks; and it is well known that this *singularity* was a principal point intended by the ritual of Moses. —*T.*

fought; but Artemisia thus delivered her sentiments: " Mardonius, deliver this my opinion to " the king, whose exertions in the battle of " Eubœa were neither the meanest nor the least; " I think myself therefore justified in declaring " what I think will be most to your interest to " pursue. I would advise you to spare your " ships, and not risk a battle. These men by " sea are as much superior to yours, as men are " to women: but after all, what necessity is " there for your hazarding an engagement? You " are already in possession of Athens, the avowed " object of this expedition, the rest of Greece is " already your own, and no one resists you. " They who opposed you, have met the fate " they merited. I will now tell you how the " affairs of your adversaries are circumstanced: " if you do not urge a naval engagement, but " will order your vessels either to remain here, " or sail to the Peloponnese, all your wishes will " infallibly be accomplished. The Greeks will " not long be able to oppose you; you will " oblige them to separate, and retire to their " respective homes. I am well informed, that " in the island where they are, they have no " supply of provisions; and if you shall enter " the Peloponnese, it is not to be supposed that " these remaining here, will risk a battle for the " sake of the Athenians. But if you determine " to fight them by sea, I seriously fear that a " defeat

" defeat of your fleet will be added to that of " your land forces. Let this also be impressed " upon your mind, that the best of men have " sometimes the worst of servants; and that bad " men are frequently served with fidelity. You, " O king, are one of the best of men; but you " have among your dependents Ægyptians, Cy- " prians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians[60], from " whom no good can be expected."

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[60] *Cilicians and Pamphylians.*]—However contemptuously these people may be here introduced, it is certain that Tarsus of Cilicia was accounted the metropolis of this part of Asia, and was the first commercial power which made any figure in that part of the world. Not only the fables of Pagan mythology, which inform us that Anchiale was built by the daughter of Japetus, and Tarsus by Perseus, son of Jupiter, bear witness to the high antiquity of these cities; but Scripture also informs us, that the sons of Tarshish, who were settled on this coast, had made themselves famous for their navigation and commerce as early as the days of David. The *ships of Tarshish*, see Psalm xlviii. 7, were then become a common appellation for all vessels of trade; and *to go to Tarshish*, a proverbial expression for setting out to sea in such vessels. That part of the Mediterranean which was contiguous to Cilicia was called the Sea of Tarshish. Pamphylia was colonized from Cilicia, and was the entrance to it from the north-west. Strabo gives this character of the natives of Tarsus: " They did not stay at home," says he, " but in order to complete their education went abroad; and many of them, when thus accomplished, resided with pleasure in foreign parts, and never returned." When their neighbours on all sides, both in Asia and the adjacent islands, made themselves infamous for their piratical depredations, the inhabitants of Tarsus maintained a fair reputation; they

LXIX. They who wished well to Artemisia were apprehensive that her speaking thus decisively to Mardonius against risking a battle, would bring upon her some mark of the king's indignation: her enemies, on the contrary, who wished to see her disgraced, and who were jealous of her favour with the king, were delighted in the confident expectation that her freedom of speech would prove her ruin; but Xerxes, after hearing the opinions of the council, was particularly pleased with that of Artemisia; he had esteemed her before, but he was on this occasion lavish in her praise. He nevertheless determined to comply with the decision of the majority; and as he imputed the former ill success at Eubœa to his being absent, he resolved to be a spectator of the battle of Salamis.

LXX. When orders were given for the fleet to depart, they proceeded towards Salamis, and deliberately ranged themselves in order of battle. As the approach of evening prevented their then coming

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not only occupied their business in great waters, but they also traded on the continent. They had factories at Dedan and Sheba on the Euphrates, with which they trafficked in silver, &c.—*Ezekiel*, xxxviii. 10. All which incidents considered, I should suppose that the censure of Artemisia, passed upon them in this place, will hardly occasion them to be considered either as a faithless or cowardly people.

It is evident that if her advice had been followed Greece must have been lost.—*T.*

coming to an encounter, they prepared themselves for the following day. In the mean while a general consternation was impressed upon the Greeks, and in particular upon those of the Peloponnese, who, conceiving that their fighting at Salamis was solely on account of the Athenians, believed that a defeat would occasion their being blockaded in the island, and would leave their own country totally defenceless.

LXXI. On the very same night the land forces of the Barbarians advanced to the Peloponnese, though every possible effort had been made to check their proceeding farther on the continent. As soon as the Peloponnesians had heard of the ruin of Leonidas and his party at Thermopylæ, they assembled, at the isthmus, all the forces they could collect from their different cities under the conduct of Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas. Encamped here, their first care was to fortify the pass of Sciron [61]; they then, after consulting on the subject, proceeded to defend the whole of the

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[61] *Sciron.*]—Said by Strabo to have been called from the famous robber of that name, who was remarkable for his barbarity to passengers, and who was killed by Theseus.—See Lucian in Jove Tragædo, where we learn that at the same time Theseus destroyed two other famous robbers, whose names were Pityocamptes and Cercyon. Sciron he threw into the sea, and his bones became rocks.—See *Ovid. Met.* vii. 443.—*T.*

the isthmus by a wall. This was soon finished, as not one of so many thousands was inactive; for without intermission, either by night or day, they severally brought stones, bricks, timber, and bags of sand.

LXXII. The Greeks who appeared in defence of the isthmus with their collected strength, were the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians universally, Eleans*, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians and Hermionians. All these were drawn together, by the danger which menaced Greece. The rest of the Peloponnesians, although the Olympic games and Carnian festivals were past, remained in careless inactivity at home.

LXXIII. The Peloponnese is inhabited by seven different nations; two of these, the Arcadians[62] and Cynurians, are natives of the country,

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* Pausanias also affirms that the Eleans took part in the war between the Greeks and Xerxes, whilst Diodorus Siculus asserts that they did not.—See Diod. Sic. Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vitiis.

[62] *Arcadians.*]—Eustathius in Dion. v. 414, tells us that Arcadia was formerly called Gigantis, that is, the Land of Giants. It was also called Azania. Arcadia was sacred to the god Pan, who was worshipped in every corner of the country. It was celebrated for its pastures;

country, and have never changed their place of residence. The Achaians have never quitted the Peloponnese, but simply removed from one situation to another. The four others, namely the Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians, migrated hither. The Dorians have many famous cities; the Ætolians[63] Elis only; the

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and its inhabitants were so generally addicted to the business of feeding cattle, that Arcades and Pastores became synonymous terms; and the Bucolic verse was styled the Arcadian. Of the antiquity which this people claimed I have already spoken in a foregoing note. Some have supposed Arcadia to have been so called from Arcas, the son of Callisto, who was said to have had his name from the supposed transformation of his mother, and to have given it to Arcadia.—See in *Arati Phæn. de Callistho.* Τεκειν Αρκτον ϑσαν τὸν κληϑεντα Αρκαδα. Homer says they were wholly ignorant of maritime affairs:

Επει ϑ σφι Θαλασσια εργα μεμηλει.

Which Pope imperfectly renders,

And new to all the dangers of the main.

See what De Pauw says of the Arcadians in his *Recherches sur les Grecs.—T.*

[63] *Ætolians.*]—There seems to be a doubt in this place whether it should be read Æolians or Ætolians. Æolus is said by some learned men to be Elisha, eldest son of Javan. —See the Genealogy. The name Elisha is explained by the Jewish Rabbis to mean *ad insulam;* and Varro, as cited by Servius on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippotades, styling him *dominus insularum.* Lesbus was called Issa, that is, I believe, the island.—See Hesychius in Ισση. Of the Ætolians, M. P. de Pauw, in his Preliminary Discourse

the Dryopians have Hermion and Asina, near Cardamyle[64], in Laconia. The Paroreatæ[65] are all Lemnians. The Cynurians, though natives of the country, are supposed to be Ionians; but in process of time, like the Orneatæ and their neighbours, they became Dorians, and subject to the Argives[66]. Of all these seven nations, those

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Discourse to his Recherches Philosophiques sur les Grecs, gives a shocking character. "On y parloit," says the Frenchman, "à la verité la langue des Grecs, mais on y avoit les mœurs des Barbares, & tant d'atrocité dans le caractère, que l'on comparoit les Etoliens à des bêtes féroces cachées sous le masque de l'homme," &c.—*T.*

[64] *Cardamyle.*]—Strabo says this city was founded on a rock, επι πετρας; and Homer mentions it as one of the seven which Agamemnon promised to give Achilles.—*T.*

[65] *Paroreatæ.*]—See book iv. c. 145, Oreatæ was the name of a city in the territories of Lacedæmon, which was afterwards called Bræsiæ or Prasiæ; concerning which consult Pausanias in Laconicis.—*T.*

[66] *Argives.*]—Eustathius says, that Apis cleared the Peloponnese of serpents, and named it from himself Apia; he was deified, and thence called Serapis, a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Ægyptians. From these serpents Argos might receive its name, for αργαι was used as synonymous with οφις.—See *Hesychius.* The frog, which was the symbol of the people of Argos, was explained to be a direction to them to keep at home; and properly enough, that they might guard the isthmus, prevent a surprise, and be a constant garrison to the Peloponnese. It was an allusion also, I believe, to their old name Leleges. Ααλαγες, says Hesychius, is the frog of a green colour. The Spartan coin, or that of the Peloponnese, was a χελωνη, or tortoise, the symbol of a housekeeper.—*T.*

those only whom I have specified, attached themselves to the cause of Greece; the others, if I may speak the truth, certainly favoured the Medes.

LXXIV. They who were at the isthmus exerted themselves as if every thing depended upon them alone, not expecting any thing from the fleet. The Greeks at Salamis hearing this, were overwhelmed with terror, not so much on their own account, as on that of the Peloponnese. They began to murmur secretly among each other, and to complain of the injudicious conduct of Eurybiades. They at length expressed their discontent aloud, and obliged a council to be called; a violent debate ensued, some were for sailing instantly to the Peloponnese, and risking every thing for its defence, urging the absurdity of staying where they were to contend for a country already captured. The Athenians, with those of Ægina and Megara, thought it most advisable to fight where they were.

LXXV. Themistocles, seeing himself overpowered by those of the Peloponnese, retired privately from the council: he immediately dispatched a messenger to the enemy's fleet, with instructions what to say. The man's name was Sicinnus, a domestic, and the tutor of his children,

dren, whom Themistocles afterwards caused to be made a citizen of Thespia, and who became very opulent. Directing his course to the leaders of the Barbarian fleet, he thus addressed them: "The Athenian leader[67], who in reality is at- "tached to the king, and who wishes to see the "Greeks in subjection to your power, has sent "me thus privately to you: a consternation has "seized the Greeks, and they are preparing to "fly; an opportunity is now afforded you of "performing a splendid action, unless you suffer "it through negligence to escape you. They "are divided among themselves, and incapable "of farther resistance. You will soon see those "who favour, and who are inclined to oppose "you, in hostilities with each other." Having said this, Sicinnus departed.

LXXVI. The Barbarians, confiding in this intelligence,

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[67] *Athenian leader.*]—

Themistocles, who leads
Athenian squadrons, is the monarch's friend,
Approv'd by this intelligence; the Greeks
In consternation shortly will resolve
To separate and fly. Let Asia's fleet
Her numbers round in diligence extend,
Investing every passage; then confus'd
This whole confederated force of Greece
Will sooner yield than fight, and Xerxes close
At once so perilous a war. *Athenaid.*

intelligence, passed over a large body of Persians to the small island of Psittalia[68], betwixt Salamis and the continent. About midnight the western division of their fleet advanced towards Salamis[69], meaning to surround it. The ships also which lay off Ceos and Cynosura[70], removed, and occupied the whole narrow sea as far as Munychia. They drew out their fleet in this manner to cut off from the Greeks the possibility of retreat, and that, thus inclosed at Salamis, they might suffer vengeance for the battle of Artemisium. Their view in sending a body of forces to Psittalia was this: this island was contiguous to the spot where the battle must of necessity take place; as therefore such vessels and men as were injured in the fight must endeavour

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[68] *Psittalia.*]—Ψιττα̃λια. Non retulissem inter populos Atticos nisi Strabonis locus aliud suaderet. Itaque credendum illum aliquando fuisse habitatum.—*Jacobus Sponius de Pagis Atticis.*

[69] *Advanced towards Salamis.*]—Larcher, in a very elaborate note, attempts to describe the situation of the two fleets with respect to each other in this memorable engagement; but the reader perhaps will have a better conception of it from the chart to be found in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, than from any thing Larcher has said, or that I can say.—*T.*

[70] *Cynosura.*]—This was a promontory of Attica, opposite to the southern extremity of Eubœa; and must not be confounded with the place of the same name in Laconia. Some critical remarks on the subsequent oracle may be found in Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Appendix N° 2.—*T.*

vour to take refuge here, they might here preserve their own and destroy the forces of the enemy. The measure was pursued privately and unperceived by the enemy, to accomplish which, the whole night was employed without any interval of rest.

LXXVII. After reflecting upon this subject, the truth of the oracular prediction appears incontestible; for who would attempt to contradict a declaration so obvious as the following?

" On Dian's shore, and Cynosura's coasts,
" When ev'ry strait is fill'd with naval hosts;
" When hostile bands, inspir'd with frantic hope,
" In Athens give wide-wasting fury scope.—
" Then shall the youthful son of daring Pride
" The vengeance of celestial wrath abide,
" Fierce tho' he be, and confident of pow'r,
" For arms with arms shall clash, and blood
" shall show'r
" O'er all the sea: while liberty and peace
" From Jove and Victory descend on Greece."

After the above explicit declaration from Bacis, I shall neither presume to question the authority of oracles myself, nor patiently suffer others to do so*.

* It is a question of importance, says Jortin, whether there has ever been in the Pagan world such a thing as divination, or a foreknowledge of things. The strongest argument

LXXVIII. Disputes still continued to run high among the leaders at Salamis, who were not at all conscious of their being surrounded by the Barbarians. They presumed that the enemy remained on the very same post, in which they had observed them during the day.

LXXIX. Whilst they were debating in council, Aristides, son of Lysimachus, arrived at Ægina; he was an Athenian, and had been banished[71] by a vote

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argument against it is contained in Isaiah, where the Almighty, foretelling many great events, particularly the raising up of Cyrus to destroy the Babylonian Monarchy, and to deliver the Jews from captivity, declares that he alone can divine such things, and appeals to these predictions as proofs of his divinity, and evident arguments that there is no God besides him.

[71] *Banished.*]—Literally ostracised. Every body knows that ostracism was the banishing a person by writing his name upon a shell, in Greek *Ostracon.* It was not a dishonourable banishment, but rather a mark of popularity, and generally inflicted on the great and powerful. By this, Themistocles, Aristides, Thucydides, and Alcibiades, were banished.

By ostracism, a person was banished for ten years; a similar mode of banishment was adopted at Syracuse, and called petalism, where the people wrote the name upon a leaf, *petalon.* By petalism, a man was banished for five years only.

Perpetual exile at Athens was the punishment of sacrilege and high treason; the term they used was not φευγειν, but εξειρχεσθαι.—*T.*

a vote of the people, although my information induces me to consider him as the most excellent[72] and upright of his fellow-citizens. He immediately went to the assembly and called out Themistocles, who was not his friend, but his particular enemy. The greatness of the impending danger prevailing over every thing else, he called him out to confer with him: he had heard how anxious the Peloponnesians were to return with the fleet to the isthmus; accordingly when Themistocles appeared, he spoke to him thus: "It would become us at any time, and "more particularly at the present, to contend "which of us can best serve our country[73]. I "have

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[72] *Most excellent.*—Ælian gives a catalogue of Greeks who were alike remarkable for their extraordinary merit and extreme poverty. Aristides, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Lamachus, Socrates, and Ephialtes. With respect to the dispute betwixt Themistocles and Aristides, the same authority informs us, that they were educated together under the same preceptor, and that when children they were notorious for their dislike of and quarrels with each other. Plutarch says, that one amongst other reasons for the inveterate hatred which prevailed betwixt them, was their having an attachment to the same youth.

The circumstance of their mutually laying aside their animosities when their country was in danger has obtained them everlasting glory.—*T.*

[73] *Best serve our country.*]—

Dissentions past as puerile and vain
Now to forget, and nobly strive who best

Shall

" have to inform you, that whatever the Pelo-
" ponnesians may now urge, with respect to
" retiring to the isthmus, can be of no signifi-
" cation; I can assure you, from my own ob-
" servation, that the Corinthians, and Eurybiades
" himself, could not now sail thither if they
" would; we are on all sides surrounded by the
" enemy. Return therefore, and tell this to the
" assembly."

LXXX. " What you tell me," replied Themistocles, " I consider as particularly happy for
" us all. The thing which I most ardently
" wished to happen, you have beheld: know,
" then, that this motion of the Medes is the
" consequence of my measures, it appearing to
" me essential that those Greeks who were re-
" luctant to fight should be compelled to do so;
" but as you come to tell us what promises us
" so much good, tell it yourself. If I shall
" inform the assembly of what you say, I shall
" obtain no credit; nor will they suppose that
" the Barbarians are posted as they are. Enter
" therefore

Shall serve his country, Aristides warns
His ancient foe Themistocles. I hear
Thou giv'st the best of councils, which the Greeks
Reject through mean solicitude to fly.
Weak men! throughout these narrow seas the foe
Is stationed, now preventing all escape. *Athenaid.*

" therefore yourself, and inform them how things " are. If they believe you, it will be well; but " if not, the event will be the same. For if, as " you say, we are surrounded, there exists no " opportunity to retreat."

LXXXI. Aristides entering the council, repeated what he had before said; that he was come from Ægina, and had passed with great difficulty through the enemy's forces; that the Grecian fleet was entirely surrounded, and that it became them to prepare for their defence. Aristides, as soon as he had spoken, retired. Fresh altercations now again rose among the leaders, the greater part of whom refused to credit what they had heard.

LXXXII. Whilst they continued still to doubt, a trireme of Tenians deserted to them; they were commanded by Parætius, the son of Sosimenes, and their intelligence put the matter beyond all dispute. In gratitude for this service, the names of the Tenians were inserted upon the tripod consecrated at Delphi, among those who repelled the Barbarians. This vessel, which joined them at Salamis[74], added to one of Lemnos,

[74] *Salamis.*]—Attica was surrounded by islands, but except this of Salamis, they were in general barren and uninhabited.

nos, which before came over to them at Artemisium, made the exact number of the Grecian ships * three hundred and eighty. There were only three hundred and seventy-eight before.

LXXXIII. The Greeks having all their doubts removed by the Tenians, prepared seriously for battle. At the dawn of morning all was in readiness. Themistocles said every thing which might avail to animate his troops. The principal purport of his speech was a comparison betwixt great and pusillanimous actions; explaining how much the activity and genius of man could effect, and exhorting them to have glory in view †. As soon as he had finished, orders were given to embark. At this juncture, the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ returned

habited. Salamis is praised in high terms by Euripides, as abounding in honey and olives. Euripides and Solon were both born here. The trophies of the battle of Salamis, says De Pauw, cease to interest us; but the Iphigenia in Tauris, and the legislation of Solon, can never be forgotten.

To take a circuit of the district of Attica, it was advised to embark at Salamis, double the promontory of Sunium, and landing in the Oropian territories, proceed to the mouth of the Asopus.—*T.*

* Æschylus limits the number of Grecian ships to 300. See the Persæ, 337, 338.

† Themistocles must here be presumed to address the Athenians. The other generals doubtless did the same to their several troops.

returned from Ægina, and soon afterwards all the Grecian fleet were under sail.

LXXXIV. As soon as they began to move the Barbarians rushed upon them. While the Greeks hung back, and seemed rather inclined to retire, Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, darted forwards and attacked the enemy; when he was so involved with his opponent, as to be unable to separate, the rest came to his assistance, and a promiscuous engagement ensued. Thus, according to the Athenians, the battle began. The people of Ægina say, that the engagement was begun by the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ. It is also affirmed that a female figure was visible to the Greeks, and that in a voice sufficiently loud to be heard by them all, it exclaimed, "Infatuated "men, how long will ye remain inactive on your "oars?"

LXXXV. The Athenians were opposed to the Phœnicians, who occupied the division towards Eleusis[75] and the west; the Lacedæmonians

[75] *Eleusis.*]—So called from Eleusis, son of Mercury.—See *Pausanias in Atticis*, & *Meursius Atticæ Lectiones*, l. iii. c. 20. The Eleusinians submitted voluntarily to the dominion of Athens, on condition of having the privilege exclusively of celebrating the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, which proved to them an inexhaustible source of riches.—*T.*

nians combated the Ionians, who were in the division towards the Piræus[76] and the east. A small number of these, at the suggestion of Themistocles, made no remarkable exertions; but with the majority it was otherwise. I am able to mention the names of several trierarchs who overpowered and took Grecian vessels; but I shall only specify Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histiæus, both of them Samians. I mention these, because on account of the service which he on this occasion performed, Theomestor was made prince of Samos by the Persians. Phylacus also had his name written *, as deserving of the royal favour, and

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[76] *Piræus.*]—This, as I have before remarked, was the most celebrated port of the Athenians. A Tract of J. Meursius, called Piræus, contains every thing relating to it and its antiquities.—*T.*

* They who had rendered personal services to the sovereign, had their names inscribed in public registers. See Thucydides, l. i. c. 129.

To this custom the following verse in the book of Esther, doubtless alludes, vi. 1.

" On that night could not the king sleep, and he commanded to bring the Book of Records of the Chronicles."

In one of the Oriental Tales published by myself, in 1795, from a manuscript brought from Aleppo by my friend Dr. Russel, the Kalif of Damascus is represented as unable to sleep, and in consequence sends for his vizier. The vizier, on his arrival, proposes various modes of tranquillizing his master's mind: among others, he says, let us go to one of

and was presented with a large tract of land. They who merit the favour of the king are in the Persian tongue called Orosangæ.

LXXXVI. A very great part of the Barbarian fleet was torn in pieces at Salamis, principally by the Athenians and the people of Ægina. The event could not well be otherwise. The Greeks fought in order, and preserved their ranks; the Barbarians, without either regularity or judgment. They nevertheless behaved better this day than at Eubœa, and they made the greater exertions from their terror of the king, in whose sight[77] they imagined they fought.

LXXXVII. To speak decisively and minutely of the several efforts, either of Barbarians or Greeks, is more than I can presume to do. The conduct however of Artemisia increased her favour

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your majesty's palaces in the suburbs, and entertain ourselves with the "representations of times past." The general similitude is very striking.

[77] *In whose sight.*]—It is no doubt difficult to describe and understand accounts of battles; but whoever places himself on the spot where the Persian monarch is said to have viewed the battle of Salamis, and at the same time reads the account which Herodotus, or that which Æschylus, an eye-witness, gives in his Persæ of that action, and considers the shoalness of the water, and the small space into which so many ships were crowded, must think contemptibly of the marine engagements in those days.—*Wood on Homer.*

favour with the king. When the greatest disorder prevailed in the royal fleet, the vessel of Artemisia was pursued by an Athenian, and reduced to the extremest danger. In this perplexity, having before her many vessels of her allies, and being herself the nearest to the enemy, the following artifice succeeded[78]. As she retreated from the Athenian, she commenced an attack upon a ship of her own party; it was a Calyndian, and had on board Damasithymus, the Calyndian prince. Whilst they were in the Hellespont, she was involved in some dispute with this man, but it is still uncertain whether her conduct in the present instance was the effect of design, or accidentally happened from the Calyndian's coming first in her way. This vessel Artemisia attacked and sunk, by which she obtained a double advantage. The Athenian commander seeing the vessel he pursued attack a Barbarian, supposed that it was either a Grecian ship, or one that had deserted the Barbarians, and was now assisting the Greeks: he was thus induced to direct his attack elsewhere.

LXXXVIII. Artemisia by this action not only

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[78] *Artifice succeeded.*]—Polyænus informs us, that Artemisia first ordered her Persian ensign to be taken down; a circumstance omitted by Herodotus, but which adds much to the probability of the story.—*Larcher.*

only avoided the impending danger, but also made herself more acceptable to the king at the time she was doing him an actual injury. It is asserted that the king, as he viewed the engagement, observed her vessel bearing down upon the other. At this period, some attendant* remarked to him, "observe, Sir, the prowess of "Artemisia, she has now sent to the bottom a "vessel of the enemy." The king was earnest in his enquiry, whether the ship which attracted his attention was really that of Artemisia. Those about him, knowing exactly the figure which distinguished her ship, assured him that it was: at the same time they had no doubt but the vessel she had attacked belonged to the enemy. It happened among the other fortunate occurrences which Artemisia met with, that not a single person of the Calyndian vessel survived to accuse her. Xerxes is said to have replied to what they told him: "The men have behaved like women, "the women like men[79]."

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* According to some, this person's name was Draco, son of Eupempos, of Samos. He had so acute a sight, that he could distinguish objects at the distance of twenty stadia. Xerxes gave him a thousand talents to accompany him on this expedition.

[79] *The women like men.*]—Xerxes sent a compleat suit of Grecian armour to Artemisia, as a reward of her bravery; to the commander of his own fleet, a distaff and spindle.—*Polyænus.*

This last does not seem to me probable, and the answer of

LXXXIX. In this battle, many persons of distinction fell, both of the Persisns, the Medes, and their confederates: among others Ariabignes[80] was slain; he was the commander in chief, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes. The loss of the Greeks was but small. As they were expert in swimming[81], they whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish by the sword, made their escape to Salamis. Great numbers of the Barbarians, from their ignorance of this art, were drowned. When the foremost ships were obliged to seek their safety by flight, a general destruction of

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of Xerxes perhaps gave rise to it. The commander of the fleet was the brother of Xerxes, who died after fighting gallantly.—*Larcher.*

Larcher might have said that this was *impossible.* Would Xerxes send a spindle to a dead man? It is false too that his men behaved like women; they fought as well as the Greeks, and their defeat was owing to other causes, which have operated from that day to this in the same manner.

[80] *Ariabignes.*]—Called Artabazanes, book vii. c. 2.

[81] *Swimming.*]—The art of swimming constituted a material part of youthful education amongst the Greeks and Romans; if they intended to speak in very contemptuous terms of any man, they said he had neither learned to read nor to swim.

Savary informs us, that of the Ægyptians, men, women, and children, are remarkably expert, and he says graceful, in swimming. Man is the only perfect animal which learns to swim, all others swim naturally: in general we find that islanders, and all those people whose country is intersected by canals, or abounds in rivers, are skilful in this manly exercise, whilst those living more inland are ignorant of it. —*T.*

of the rest ensued. They who were behind, anxious to advance to the front, and to give to the king, who viewed them, some testimony of their zeal and courage, ran foul of those vessels, which were retreating.

XC. During the confusion, many Phœnicians who had lost their ships, went to the king, and informed him, that their disgrace was occasioned by the perfidy of the Ionians. The consequence of this was, that the Ionian leaders were not punished with death, but the Phœnicians were. While they were yet speaking, a Samothracian vessel attacked one of Attica, and sunk it; immediately afterwards, a ship of Ægina fell upon the Samothracian, and inflicted on it a similar fate; but the Samothracians, who were skilful in the management of the spear, attacked as they were going down their adversaries with so much success, that they boarded and took the vessel. This exploit was very fortunate for the Ionians. Xerxes observing this specimen of the Ionian valour, turned with anger to the Phœnicians, and as he was beyond measure vexed and exasperated, he ordered them all to be beheaded, as being pusillanimous themselves, they had presumed to accuse men better than themselves. The king, placed on mount Ægaleos [82], which is opposite

[82] *Mount Ægaleos.*]—The ancients differ concerning the place from which Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Phanodemus

opposite to Salamis, was particularly observant of the battle, and when he saw any person eminently distinguish himself, he was minute in his inquiries concerning his family and city; all which at his direction, his scribes recorded. This execution of the Phœnicians, was not a little forwarded by Ariaramnes, a Persian, and favourite of the king, who happened to be then present.

XCI. In this disaster were the Phœnicians involved;

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nodemus pretends that it was from the temple of Hercules, in a place where Attica is separated from Salamis by a very small strait. Acestodorus says it was from the hills called Cerata (The Horns) or the confines of the territory of Megara. The difference is only in appearance. They fought, says Pausanias, at Salamis, which stretches itself as far as Megara; thus Mount Ægaleos was on the confines of Attica and Megara.—*Larcher.*

Æschylus in the Persæ contents himself with saying, that Xerxes was a spectator of the engagement, without saying from what place:

Εδραν γαρ ειχε παντος ευαυγη τοπου
Υψηλον οχθον αγχι πελαγιας αλος.

He had a seat from which he could easily discern all his forces, a lofty mound, *near the sea*; from which it should seem to have been some artificial tumulus. The Scholiast to the passage of Æschylus refers the reader to the place before us in Herodotus. Pliny calls it Mount Ægialos.—*T.*

Xerxes, who enthron'd
High on Ægaleos anxious sate to view
A scene which nature never yet display'd,
Nor fancy feign'd. The theatre was Greece,
Mankind spectators, equal to that stage,
Themistocles, great actor. *Athenaid.*

volved; the Barbarians retreating, were anxious to gain Phalerum; the Æginetæ however, guarding this neck of sea, performed what well deserves mention. The Athenians in the tumult of the fight overpowered those who resisted, and pressed upon those who fled. These last the Æginetæ attacked, so that many which escaped from the Athenians, were intercepted by the Æginetæ.

XCII. As Themistocles was engaged in the pursuit of a flying enemy, he came up with a vessel of Ægina, commanded by Polycritus, son of Crios, which was then attacking a vessel of Sidon. It happened to be the very ship which off Sciathus took Pytheas, the son of Ischenus, in a vessel of Ægina sent to watch the motions of the enemy. This man, almost expiring from his wounds, the Persians had preserved with great tenderness on account of his extraordinary valour; and when the Sidonian vessel with the Persians on board was taken, Pytheas was restored in safety to his country. Polycritus observing the Athenian vessel, which by its colours he knew to belong to the commander in chief, called out in a reproachful manner * to Themistocles, and

* *In a reproachful manner.*]—The Athenians had accused the Æginetæ, and particularly Crius the father of this man, of

and bade him observe how the Æginetæ shewed their attachment to the Medes; at the same time he rushed on the Sidonian.

XCIII. The Barbarians, whose ships remained, fled to Phalerum, and joined the land forces. On this day, they who distinguished themselves the most were the people of Ægina, next to them the Athenians. Of the Æginetæ, Polycritus was eminent; of the Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyris, and Aminias of Pallene[83]. This last was the person who pursued Artemisia, and who would not have desisted till he had taken the enemy, or been taken himself, if he had conceived her to have been on board the vessel which he chased. The Athenian commanders had received particular orders with respect to her, and a reward of ten thousand drachmæ was offered to whoever should take her alive; it being thought a most disgraceful circumstance that a woman should fight against Athens. She however escaped as we have before described, as also did many others, to Phalerum.

XCIV. The Athenians affirm[84] of Adimantus, the

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of designing to betray their country to the Medes.—See book vi. chap. 49. To this unjust accusation Polycritus alluded in this sarcasm.—*T.*

[83] *Aminias of Pallene.*]—He was brother to the great poet Æschylus.

[84] *The Athenians affirm.*]—Dion Chrysostom relates, that our

the leader of the Corinthians, that at the very commencement of the fight he was seized with a panic, and fled. The Corinthians followed his example. Arriving at the temple of Minerva Sciras [85], not far from the coast of Salamis, they met a little bark, which seemed as if sent hy tbe gods: who actually did send it could never be discovered; it approached however the Corinthians, who were in total ignorance how things went, and when at a certain distance, some one on board exclaimed: "Adimantus, by thus flying "with

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our historian not having received the compensation which he expected from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praise, was induced to misrepresent their conduct, with that of Adimantus, on the day of Salamis. Plutarch pretends that Herodotus from malignity related the battle of Salamis in a manner disadvantageous to the Corinthians. If what was asserted by Dion Chrysostom were true, Plutarch would not have omitted it. I cannot prevail on myself to believe that our historian was influenced by either motive. I rather think he desired to gratify the Athenians, who were at enmity with the Corinthians. Plutarch with some reason opposes to Herodotus the silence of Thucydides, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, and the inscriptions of Simonides, and some other poets, of which the historian could not be ignorant. I may add, that if Herodotus had felt the motives imputed to him by Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom, he would not have opposed to the recital of the Athenians the evidence of Universal Greece.—*Larcher.*

[85] *Minerva Sciras.*]—Salamis was anciently called Sciras, from some hero. Minerva was honoured by this name in that island, whence came the sacrifice called at Athens the Episcirosis, and the month Scirophorion.—*Larcher.*

" with the ships under your command, you must " be considered as the betrayer of Greece: the Greeks however are victorious over their ene- " mies to the utmost of their hopes." Adimantus not giving credit to these assertions, it was repeated from on board the little bark, that they would agree to suffer death if the Greeks were not victorious. Adimantus therefore with his detachment made haste to rejoin the Greeks, but they did not come up till the battle was determined. This is what the Athenians affirm. The Corinthians deny the fact, declaring that no nation was more distinguished on this occasion than themselves; and this indeed the Greeks in general confirm.

XCV. Aristides the Athenian, son of Lysimachus, of whose integrity I have before made honourable mention, during the tumult of the battle of Salamis, rendered his country this service; taking with him a number of armed Athenians, whom he found stationed along the shore of Salamis, he landed on the island of Psittaleia, and put every Persian whom he found there to death.

XCVI. After the engagement, the Greeks collected all their damaged vessels at Salamis [86], and

[86] *Salamis.*]—Amongst other rejoicings which celebrated the

and prepared for another battle, presuming that the king would renew the fight with all the vessels he had left. At the same time a wind from the west, had driven on that part of the coast of Attica, which is called Colias, many wrecks belonging to the enemy. Thus the different oracles pronounced concerning this battle at Bacis and Musæus, were minutely accomplished, as was also the prediction of the Athenian Lysistratus, made many years before concerning these wrecks. It had long eluded the sagacity of the Greeks, and was to this effect:

" The Colian dames with oars shall roast their
" food [87]."

The above happened after the king's departure.

XCVII. When Xerxes discovered how severely he

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the victory of Salamis, I find in Athenæus the following anecdote of Sophocles. Sophocles, who had a very fine person, was also accomplished in the arts of music and dancing, which when very young he had been taught by Lamprus. After the victory of Salamis, he danced with a lyre in his hand round a military trophy erected by the conquerors. Some say that he was entirely naked, and anointed with oils; others, that he was in his clothes. When he exhibited his tragedy of Thamyris, he played on the Citharis; and when his Nausicaa was performed, he discovered great activity in leaping with the ball—εσφαιρισεν.—*T.*

[87] *Roast their food.*]—This passage has greatly perplexed the commentators; in the Greek it is ερετμοισι φριξωσι, shall rage at the oars. Kuhnius reads φρυξωσι, which both Wesseling and Valcnaer approve.—*T.*

he had suffered, apprehending that the Ionians might induce the Greeks, or that of themselves they might be disposed to sail to the Hellespont and break down the bridge, he determined to seek his safety by flight. Desirous however of not being suspected in his design, either by the Greeks or his own troops, he made an effort to connect Salamis with the continent, joining for this purpose the Phœnician transports together, to serve both as a bridge and a wall. He then made seeming preparations for another naval engagement. His taking these measures caused it to be generally believed that he intended to continue where he was and prosecute hostilities. His real purpose did not escape Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his mind. Whilst Xerxes was thus employed, he sent a messenger to Persia with intelligence of his defeat[88].

XCVIII. The Persian messengers travel with a velocity

[88] *Defeat.*]—" I have been told by a Mede," says Dion Chrysostom, " that the Persians do not agree to what is reported by the Greeks. They pretend that Xerxes conquered the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and slew their king; that he made himself master of Athens, totally destroying it, and reducing all those Athenians to slavery who did not escape by flight; and that finally he returned to Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks. It is evident that this narrative is false: but it is not impossible, indeed it is very probable, that the king said this to the Asiatic nations," &c.—*Larcher.*

a velocity which nothing human[89] can equal. It is thus accomplished: as many days as are required to go from one place to another, so many men and horses are regularly stationed along the road,

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[89] *Nothing human.*]—Θνητον εον.—Valcnaer does not approve this reading. Surely, says he, the domestic pigeons, which we know were used for the purpose of conveying intelligence very anciently, travelled much faster. He therefore proposes to read ανδρηϊον or ανθρωπηϊον, human. Larcher replies to this, by saying, "that it is not probable that pigeons were used in the great roads where public posts were established, but rather in routs difficult of access for horses." This observation has no great weight; it is more to the purpose that he refers the reader to an expression of Herodotus, in the first book, where he calls the horse, παντων των θνητων το ταχιστον. I nevertheless prefer the conjecture of Valcnaer.

The regularity and swiftness of the Roman posts cannot fail of exciting the admiration of all who attentively consider the subject; they are thus excellently described by Gibbon:

"The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institution of posts. Houses were every where erected at the distance only of five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel a hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads." Mr. Gibbon adds in a note the following anecdote:

"In the time of Theodosius, Cesarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman, or 665 English miles.—See also *Libanius, Orat.* 22, and the *Itineraria*, p. 572—581.

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road, allowing a man and a horse for each day: neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor darkness, are permitted to obstruct their speed. The first messenger delivers his business to the second, the second to the third, as the torch is handed about among the Greeks at the feast of Vulcan. This mode of conveying intelligence the Persians call Angareïon.

XCIX. On the arrival of the first messenger at Susa, informing them that Xerxes was master of Athens, such universal transport prevailed, that the Persians strewed their public roads with myrtle, burned perfumes, and all were engaged in religious or private festivals; but the intelligence of the second messenger* excited universal sorrow; they tore their cloaths [90], wept and mourned aloud, imputing all the blame to Mardonius. They were not so solicitous about the loss of their fleet, as anxious for the person of their king; nor were their disquietudes calmed but by the arrival of Xerxes himself.

The mode adopted by Cyrus, as described by Xenophon, did not essentially vary from this of the Romans.—*T.*

[90] *Tore their cloaths.*]—This was a custom of the Orientals, of which various examples occur in Scripture.—See also the Persæ of Æschylus, 53, &c.

* The great Frederick of Prussia once sent a dispatch to Berlin, to say he had gained a great victory. Just as they began their rejoicings came a second letter, to say that the battle was lost, and that Berlin must surrender.

C. Mardonius observed that his defeat at sea greatly afflicted Xerxes, and he suspected that he meditated to fly from Athens: he began therefore to be alarmed on his own account, thinking that as he had been the instrument of the king's commencing hostilities with Greece, he might be made the object of his vengeance. He thought it therefore preferable to attempt again the subjection of Greece, or in some great effort to meet an honourable death. His idea of conquering Greece prevailed, and after some deliberation, he thus addressed the king: "I would not, Sir," said he, "have you much afflict yourself concerning "what has happened, nor suppose that your re- "putation has sustained from it any considerable "wound. The ultimate success of our attempts "does not depend [91] on ships, but on our troops "and

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[91] *Does not depend.*]—The following paraphrase on this speech of Mardonius by Mr. Glover, is one of the best passages in his poem;

> Be not discourag'd, sovereign of the world!
> Not oars, not sails, and timber can decide
> Thy enterprize sublime. In shifting strife,
> By winds and billows governed, may contend
> The sons of traffic; on the solid plain
> The generous steed and soldier; they alone
> Thy glory must establish, where no swell
> Of fickle floods, nor breath of casual gales
> Assist the skilful coward, and controul
> By nature's wanton but resistless might
> The brave man's arm, &c. *Athenaid.*

" and horses. They, who from their late ad-
" vantages, suppose all contest at an end, will
" not presume to leave their vessels to oppose
" you, nor will the Greeks on the continent dare
" to meet you in the field. They who did so
" suffered. With your permission, therefore,
" our future exertions shall be made in the
" Peloponnese; or if you please for awhile to
" suspend your activity, it may securely be done:
" be not however disheartened, it is not possible
" that the Greeks should be finally able to elude
" the vengeance due to them, or to avoid being
" made your slaves. What I have recommended,
" you will find to merit your attention; but if
" you are determined to return with your army,
" I have other advice to offer. Suffer not, O
" king, the Persians to become the ridicule of
" the Greeks; you will not find us to have been
" the instruments of your losses; you have
" never seen us cowardly or base. If the Phœ-
" nicians, Ægyptians, Cyprians, or Cilicians have
" behaved themselves ill, it ought not to be im-
" puted to us; if the Persians therefore have not
" merited your censure, vouchsafe to listen to
" my counsel; if you shall not think proper to
" continue with us yourself, return to your
" country, and take with you the majority of
" your forces. Leave me here three hundred
" thousand chosen men, and I doubt not but I
" shall reduce Greece to your obedience."

CI. Xerxes, on hearing this, found his vexation suspended, and his tranquillity restored. He told Mardonius, that after taking advice on the subject he would give him an answer. Having consulted with some Persians whom he assembled, he determined to send for Artemisia, whose superior wisdom he had before had reason to approve. On her arrival, Xerxes ordered his counsellors and guards to retire, whilst he thus addressed her: "Mardonius advises me to continue "here, and make an attempt on the Peloponnese, urging that my Persians and land forces "have not been at all accessary to the injuries "we have sustained, of which they desire to "give me future testimony. If I should disapprove of this, he himself engages, with three "hundred thousand troops, to stay and reduce "Greece to my power, recommending me to "retire with the rest of the army to my native "country. Do you therefore, who with so much "wisdom endeavoured to dissuade me from risking an engagement at sea, tell me which of "these measures you would have me pursue?"

CII. The reply of Artemisia was to the following purport: "In a situation like the present, "O king, it is not easy to say what measures "will be best; but as far as I am able to discern, "I would recommend your return. Let Mardonius remain here with the number of forces

"he

" he requires, as it is his own voluntary propo-
" sal to effect with these the accomplishment of
" your wishes. If he shall subjugate the coun-
" try, and effect what he promises, the glory
" will be yours[92], for your troops must be his
" instruments; if he should be disappointed and
" vanquished, while you are safe, and your fa-
" mily and fortunes secure, no great calamity
" can ensue. The Greeks, as long as you shall
" survive, and your family remain, must be in-
" volved in many contests. If Mardonius shall
" fail in his attempts, and perish, the Greeks
" will have no great advantage to boast from the
" misfortunes or death of one of your slaves.
" You have burned Athens, which was the pro-
" posed object of your expedition, and may
" therefore return without dishonour."

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[92] *The glory will be yours.*]—Thus in subsequent times did the emperors of Rome obtain ovations, triumphs, and an artificial reputation from the successful labours of their more bold and hardy lieutenants. " Under the commonwealth," says Mr. Gibbon, " a triumph could only be obtained by the general who was authorized to take the auspices in the name of the people. By an exact consequence drawn from this principle of policy and religion, the triumph was reserved to the emperor; and his most successful lieutenants were satisfied with some marks of distinction, which under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour," Speaking of the emperors lieutenants, in another place, he says, " they received and held their commissions at the will of a superior, to whose auspicious influence the merits of their action was legally attributed."—*T.*

CIII. Xerxes was delighted with advice so consonant to the secret wishes of his heart: for my own part, I am of opinion his terror was so great, that no persuasions could have prevailed on him to stay. Artemisia was dismissed most graciously from his presence, and directed to retire with the royal children to Ephesus, for some of the king's natural sons had accompanied him.

CIV. Hermotimus a favourite eunuch of the king, and a Pedasian by birth, was sent to take care of them. The Pedasians[93] inhabit the district beyond Halicarnassus. It is affirmed of this people, that as often as they are menaced by any calamity, the chin of the priestess of Minerva produces a large beard; an incident which has happened twice among them.

CV. This Hermotimus revenged himself on account of the injury he had formerly sustained, with

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[93] *The Pedasians, &c.*]—See book i. chap. 175. Valcnaer is of opinion that the whole of this paragraph to the end of the chapter is spurious. It certainly has no business here, and if essential at all, would have more properly appeared in book vi. chapter 20. The strongest argument against its being genuine is, that Strabo seems to have known nothing of it; speaking as if he had only seen the passage in the first book to which I have referred the reader.—*T.*

with a severity, as far as I can learn, without example. He had been taken captive, and sold as a slave to a man of Chios [94], named Panionius,

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[94] *Chios*,]—Chios, and the islands in its vicinity, were famous for their purple. It was to Chios that Alexander, when he was revelling in Persia, sent for materials to clothe himself and his attendants with purple robes. It was produced from the purpura called in Maccabees, chap. iv. verse 23, the purple of the sea.

" Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold and silver, and blue silk, *and purple of the sea*, and great riches."

See also Ezekiel, chapter xxvii. where the prophet, enumerating the merchandize of Tyre, says, ver. 7. " Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee." By the isles of Elishah, I conceive the prophet to mean Lesbos, Tenedos, and the small islands near them. There were several species of the purpura, but the Pelagium and the Buccina were most valued.—See *Pliny*, l. ix. c. 33. From these two separately, or combined, were produced the three kinds of purple most esteemed by the ancients. One was called πορφυρις, of a strong violet colour inclining to black; a second was called φοινικις, inclining to scarlet; a third αλουργις, azure or sky blue. Athenæus says, l. iii. c. 12, that the best and largest were found about Lesbos and the promontory of Lectus.

" By the discovery of cochineal," says Mr. Gibbon, " we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell and a dark cast, as deep as bull's blood. In Rome, this was restrained to the sacred person and palace of the emperor, and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne."—See *Gibbon*, vol. iii. 71. Statius in the following passage seems to distinguish betwixt the deep and the blueish purple:

Quis

nius, who maintained himself by the most infamous of all traffic: whenever he met with any youths whose persons were handsome, he castrated them, and carrying them to Sardis or Ephesus, disposed of them at a prodigious price. Among the Barbarians, eunuchs [95] are esteemed of greater value than other slaves, from the presumption of their superior fidelity. Hermotimus was one of the great many, whom Panionius had thus treated.

Quis purpura sæpe
Œbalis et Tyrii moderator livet aheni. *Syl.* i. 2. 150.

The best, or the Pelagia, were so called, because found in deeper waters.—See the *Schol. to Apollonius Rhodius*, l. i. v. 461. Εν βαθει της θαλασσης ευρισκεται. From this peculiarity of the purpura, the verb προφυρεσκω was used for to meditate *profoundly*.—*T.*

[95] *Eunuchs.*]—Eunuchs were introduced in the courts of princes and the families of great men at a very early period, and of course became an important article of commerce. Black eunuchs appear to have been preferred, at least we find one in the court of Zedekiah.—See Jeremiah, xxxviii. 7.

"Now when Ebed-Melech, the Æthiopian, one of the eunuchs which was in the king's house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon, &c."

Black eunuchs are still an article of great luxury in the east, and seldom found but in the seraglio of the Grand Signior, and those of the Sultanas. See Memoirs of Baron Tott, who represents their manners as always harsh and brutal.—See also *Harmer*, vol. iii. 328.

Eunuchs are found in the catalogue of eastern commodities, which, about the time of Alexander Severus, were made subject to the payment of duties; and Mr. Gibbon observes, that the use and value of these effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empire.—*T.*

treated. Hermotimus however could not be esteemed as altogether unfortunate: he was sent from Sardis to the king as one among other presents, and in process of time became the favourite of Xerxes above all the other eunuchs.

CVI. When the king left Sardis to proceed towards Athens, this Hermotimus went on some business to a place in Mysia, called Atarneus, inhabited by some Chians: he there met and remembered Panionius. He addressed him with much seeming kindness; he first enumerated the many benefits he enjoyed through him, and then proceeded to assure him, that if he would come to him with all his family, he should receive the most convincing testimony of his gratitude. Panionius listened to the offer with great delight, and soon went to Hermotimus, with his wife and children. When the eunuch had got them in his power, he thus addressed Panionius: "The "means by which you obtain a livelihood is the "most infamous that can be conceived. How "could I, or any of my ancestors, so have in- "jured you or your family as to justify your "reducing me from manhood to my present con- "temptible state? Could you imagine that your "crimes would escape the observation of the "gods, who inspiring me with the fallacy I "practised, have thus delivered you into my "hands? Abandoned as you are, you can have

"no

" no reason to complain of the vengeance which " I mean to inflict on you." After these reproaches, he produced the four sons of Panionius, and obliged the father to castrate them himself: when this was done, he compelled the sons to do the same to their father. Such was[96] the punishment of Panionius, and the revenge of Hermotimus.

CVII. Xerxes having sent his children to Ephesus, under the care of Artemisia, commissioned Mardonius to select from the army the number that he wished, and desired him to make his deeds correspond with his words. The above happened during the day; but on the approach of night, the king commanded the leaders of his fleet to retire from Phalerum, towards the Hellespont, with the greatest expedition, to protect the bridge and secure his passage. The Barbarians set sail, but when they approached Zoster, mistaking the little promontories which rise above that coast for ships, they fled to a great distance. Discovering their error, they afterwards formed, and proceeded in a regular body.

CVIII. In the morning, the Greeks perceiving

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[96] *Such was.*]—

Qui primus pueris genitalia membra recidit
Vulnera quæ fecit debuit ipse pati.
Ovid. Amor. l. ii. e. 3.

ing the land forces of the enemy, on their former post, supposed their fleet to be still at Phalerum, and prepared for a second engagement. When informed of their retreat, they commenced a pursuit with the greatest eagerness. Proceeding as far as Andros without being able to discover them, they went on shore on the island to hold a consultation. Themistocles was of opinion that they should sail through the midst of the islands, continuing their pursuit, and endeavour to reach the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. This was opposed by Euribiades, who thought that the measure of breaking down the bridge, would not fail to involve Greece in the greatest calamity. It was not probable, he urged, that if the Persian was compelled to stay in Europe he would remain inactive; if he did, his army would be in danger of suffering from famine, unable either to return to Asia, or advance his affairs; but if he should be earnest in the prosecution of any enterprize, he would have great probability of success, as it was much to be feared, that most of the cities and powers of Europe would either be reduced by him, or surrender previously to his arms; besides this, he would have a constant supply of corn from the annual produce of Greece: as therefore it was not likely that the Persian, after his late naval defeat, would wish to stay in Europe, it was better that his escape to his own country should be permitted. Here, he added, it will be afterwards

wards adviseable to prosecute hostilities. In this opinion the other leaders of the Peloponnese acquiesced.

CIX. Themistocles seeing his advice to sail immediately to the Hellespont, overruled by the majority, addressed himself next to the Athenians. They were more particularly exasperated by the escape of the enemy, and had determined to continue the pursuit to the Hellespont, even if unsupported by the rest of the allies. He spoke to them as follows: "I have myself been witness "of similar incidents, and I have frequently "heard it affirmed by others, that men reduced "to the extremest ebb of fortune have by some "succeeding efforts retrieved their affairs, and "made amends for their former want of vigour. "We Athenians have enjoyed this favourable "vicissitude; but although we have thus happily "defended ourselves and our country, and have "repulsed such an host of foes, we refrain from "the pursuit of a flying enemy; not that we "must impute our success to our own exertions; "we must thank the gods and the heroes "who would not suffer an individual marked by "his impiety and crimes to be the tyrant of Asia "and of Europe; a man who made no dis-"crimination betwixt things sacred and profane; "who consumed by fire the shrines of the gods; "who dared to inflict lashes on the sea, and throw

" chains into his bosom. To us the present " moment is auspicious, let us therefore attend " to the interest of ourselves and families; " and as the Barbarian is effectually expelled, " let us severally repair our dwellings, and culti- " vate our lands. In the spring we will sail to " Ionia and the Hellespont." By this conduct, Themistocles intended to conciliate the friendship of the Persian, that in case of his becoming unpopular with his countrymen, he might be secure of a place of refuge. The event proved his sagacity[97].

CX. The Athenians, deluded by Themistocles, assented to his proposal; they had before thought highly of his wisdom, and the present instance of his prudence and discretion, induced their readier compliance

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[97] *The event.*]—It is a singular circumstance which I do not remember ever to have seen remarked by any writer, that one of the motives which made Atossa urge on Darius to hostilities with Greece was, that she might have some Ionian female slaves who were celebrated for their graces and accomplishments.—See Horace:

> Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
> Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus
> Jam nunc, &c.

And the escape of Themistocles to Asia was in the habit of an Ionian female slave, concealed in a litter, by which means he with difficulty eluded the fury of his incensed countrymen.—*T.*

compliance with his wishes. The Athenians had no sooner agreed in form to what he recommended, than he dispatched a bark with confidential servants to inform the king of their determination, who were not to be prevailed on, even by torture, to reveal what was entrusted to them: among these was the slave Sicinnus [98]. On their arrival at Attica, Sicinnus left his companions in their vessel, and hastened to the king, whom he thus addressed: "Themistocles, son of Neocles, "and leader of the Athenians, of all the con- "federates the most wise and the most valiant, "has sent me to inform you, that willing to ren- "der you kindness, he has prevented the Greeks "from pursuing you to the Hellespont, when it "was their inclination to do so [99], in order that "they might break down your bridge; you may "now, therefore, retire there in security." Saying this, Sicinnus returned.

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[98] *Sicinnus.*]—Plutarch says it was one of the king's eunuchs, found among the prisoners, named Arraces. But as Larcher justly remarks, Themistocles was much too wise to send a person of this description, who, if possessed of the smallest sagacity, could have forewarned Xerxes of the artifice of the Athenian commander.—*T.*

[99] *Inclination to do so.*]—Plutarch relates the matter differently: he makes Themistocles inform Xerxes, that the Greeks, after their victory, had resolved to sail to the Hellespont, and break down their bridge; but that Themistocles, zealous to preserve him, urged him to hasten to that sea, and pass over to Asia. In the mean time he raised perplexities and embarrassments among the allies, which retarded their pursuit.—*Larcher.*

CXI. The Greeks having thus declined to pursue the Barbarians, with the view of breaking down the bridge at the Hellespont, laid close siege to Andros, and determined totally to destroy it. These were the first of the islanders who had refused the solicitation of Themistocles for money. He had urged to them, that they were impelled to make this application by two powerful divinities, persuasion and necessity, who could not possibly be refused. The Andrians replied, that Athens might reasonably expect to be great and prosperous from the protection of such powerful deities, but that their island was of itself poor and barren, and had withal unalterably attached to it two formidable deities, poverty and weakness: that they, therefore, could not be expected to supply them with money: the strength of Athens, they added, could never be greater in proportion than their weakness. In consequence of this refusal and reply they were now besieged.

CXII. In the mean while the avarice of Themistocles appeared to be insatiable. He made applications to all the other islands also for money, using the same emissaries and language as before to the Andrians. In case of refusal, he threatened to bring against them the forces of Greece, and utterly destroy them. He by these means obtained from the Carystians and Parians an enor-

mous sum of money. These people hearing that the Andrians had been distressed, on account of their attachment to the Medes, and being informed that Themistocles was the first in rank and influence of all the Grecian leaders, were terrified into compliance. Whether any of the other islands gave him money or not, I will not take upon me to decide, but I am inclined to believe that some of them did. The Carystians, however, did not by their compliance escape the menaced calamity, whilst the Carians, by the effect of their bribes on Themistocles, avoided being made the objects of hostilities. In this manner Themistocles, beginning with the Andrians, extorted money from the islanders, without the knowledge of the other leaders.

CXIII. The land forces of Xerxes, after continuing on their former station, a few days after the battle of Salamis moved towards Bœotia, following the track by which they had come. Mardonius thought proper to accompany the king, both because the season of the year was improper for any farther military exertions, and because he preferred wintering in Thessaly, intending to advance to the Peloponnese on the commencement of the spring. On their arrival in Thessaly, the first care of Mardonius was to select, in preference to all the Persians, those called the Immortals, excepting only their leader Hydarnes, who

who refused to leave the person of the king. Of the other Persians he chose the Cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse: to these he added all the forces, horse and foot, of the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. From the rest of the allies he selected only those who were distinguished by their advantages of person, or who had performed some remarkable exploit. He took also the greater part of those Persians who wore collars and bracelets*; and next to these the Medes, inferior to the Persians in force, but not in number. The aggregate of these troops, including the cavalry, was three hundred thousand men.

CXIV. Whilst Mardonius was employed in selecting his army, and Xerxes was still in Thessaly, an oracle was addressed to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, requiring them to demand compensation of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept of what he should offer. A messenger was instantly dispatched from Sparta, who came up with the army, the whole of which was still in Thessaly, and being introduced to Xerxes, thus addressed him: "King of the "Medes, the Lacedæmonians and Heraclidæ of "Sparta,

* *Collars and bracelets.*]—As marks of royal favour, and rewards for service.—See an account of the royal gifts of Persia, in a note on the first book.

" Sparta [100], claim of you a compensation for the " death of their king, whom you slew whilst he " was defending Greece." The king laughed at this, and for some time returned no answer; till at length, turning to Mardonius, who stood near him, " This man," says he, " shall make you a " becoming retribution." The herald receiving this answer departed.

CXV. Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, hastened towards the Hellespont. Within the space of forty-five days he arrived at the place of passage with a very inconsiderable number of troops. But wherever these troops came, they consumed, without any distinction, all the corn of the inhabitants, and when this failed, they fed upon the natural produce of the earth, stripping wild and cultivated trees alike, of their bark and leaves, to such extremity of famine * were they come. To this a pestilence succeeded, which with the dysentry destroyed numbers in their march. Xerxes distributed his sick through the cities as he passed, recommending the care and maintenance of them to the inhabitants. Some were

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[100] *Heraclidæ of Sparta.*]—Herodotus expresses himself thus, to distinguish the kings of Lacedæmon from those of Argos and Macedonia, who also were Heraclidæ, that is to say, of the race of Hercules.—*Larcher.*

* This explains the mystery of the retreat. The followers of the camp had created a famine, as they generally do in Eastern countries.

were left in Thessaly, others at Siris in Pæonia, others in Macedonia. At this last place, on his march to Greece, Xerxes had left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, which he did not find on his return. The Pæonians had given it to the Thracians; but when Xerxes enquired for it again, they told him that the mares, whilst feeding, had been driven away by the people of the higher Thrace, who lived near the source of the Strymon.

CXVI. Here the king of Bisaltica and Crestonia, a Thracian, did a most unnatural action. Refusing to submit to Xerxes, he had retired to the higher parts of mount Rhodope, and had commanded his sons not to serve against Greece. They, either despising their father, or curious to see the war, had joined the Persian army. There were six of them, and they all returned safe, but their father ordered their eyes to be put out; such was the reward they received.

CXVII. The Persians, leaving Thrace, came to the passage, where they eagerly crowded into their vessels to cross to Abydos. The bridge of vessels was no more, a tempest had broken and dispersed it. Here meeting with provisions in greater abundance than they had enjoyed during their march, they indulged themselves so intemperately, that this, added to the change of water,

destroyed a great number of those who remained; the rest with Xerxes arrived at Sardis [101].

CXVIII. There is also another story.—It is is said that Xerxes, leaving Athens, came to a city called Eïon, on the banks of the Strymon. Hence he proceeded no farther by land, but entrusting the conduct of his forces to Hydarnes, with orders to march them to the Hellespont, he went on board a Phœnician vessel to cross over into Asia. After he had embarked, a heavy and tempestuous wind set in from the lake, which on account of the great number of Persians on board, attendant upon Xerxes, made the situation of the vessel extremely dangerous. The king, in an emotion of terror, enquired aloud of the pilot if he thought they were safe? "By no means," was the answer, "unless we could be rid of some "of this multitude." Upon this Xerxes exclaimed, "Persians, let me now see which of "you has an affection for his prince; my safety "it

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[101] Mr. Richardson, who rejects altogether the Grecian account of Xerxes, and his invasion of Greece, finally expresses himself in these strong terms.

"To sum up all; the expedition of Xerxes, upon the most moderate scale of the Greek writers, seems to be inconsistent with probability and the ordinary power of man.—It is all upon stilts; every step we take is upon romantic ground: nothing seems wanting but a few genii, to make it in every respect an exceeding good Arabian tale.—*Dissertations*, 8vo. 316.

" it seems depends on you." As soon as he had spoken, they first bowed themselves before him, and then leaped into the sea[102]. The vessel being thus lightened, Xerxes was safely landed in Asia. As soon as he got on shore, he rewarded the pilot with a golden crown for preserving the life of the king; but as he had caused so many Persians to perish, he cut off his head.

CXIX. This last account of the retreat of Xerxes seems to deserve but little credit for many reasons*, but particularly from this catastrophe of the Persians who accompanied the king. If Xerxes really made such a speech to the pilot, I cannot hesitate a moment to suppose, that the king would have ordered his attendants, who were not only Persians, but men of the highest

[102] *Leaped into the sea.*]—An anecdote not very unlike this, and particularly characteristic of the spirit of British sailors, is related of James the Second, when Duke of York. He was, by some accident, in imminent danger of being lost at sea, but getting into the ship's boat, with a select number of attendants, he, though with extreme difficulty, got safe to shore. The honest crew, when they saw his highness landed on the beach, gave him three cheers, and in a few minutes all went down, and perished.—*T.*

* The objection of Herodotus to the truth of this story, seems to be founded on not reflecting that the Phœnician rowers were much more essential to the safety of the vessels, than the Persians. If the Persian nobles were volunteers in the business, it shews the spirit of the nation, like the servants of the old man of the mountain: But the whole is a foolish story, introduced to calumniate Xerxes. A rational history of Xerxes is a great desideratum.

highest rank, to descend into the hold of the ship, and would have thrown into the sea as many Phœnician rowers as there were Persians on board. But the truth is, that the king, with the residue of his army, returned towards Asia by land.

CXX. Of this there is a yet stronger proof. It is well known that Xerxes, on his return to Asia, came to Abdera, with the inhabitants of which he made a treaty of friendship, presenting them with a golden scimitar, and a tiara richly embroidered. The Abderites assert what does not to me appear probable, that with them, Xerxes, for the first time after his departure from Athens, pulled off his garments, as being not till then released from alarm. Abdera is much nearer the Hellespont than Strymon and Eïon, where it is said he went on board.

CXXI. The Greeks not succeeding in their attempts upon Andros, attacked Carystus, and after wasting its lands, returned to Salamis. Here their immediate care was to set apart as sacred to the gods, the first fruits of their success, among which were three Phœnician triremes. One of these was deposited upon the isthmus, where it continued within my memory; a second was placed at Sunium; the third was consecrated to Ajax, and reserved at Salamis. They then

proceeded to a division of the plunder, sending the choicest to Delphi. Here a statue was erected twelve cubits high, having in its hand the beak of a ship [103]: it was placed on the same spot where stands a statue in gold of Alexander of Macedon.

CXXII. After these offerings had been presented at Delphi, it was enquired publickly of the deity, in the name of all the Greeks, whether what he had received, was perfect and satisfactory to him. He replied, that from the Greeks in general it was, but not from the Æginetæ, from whom he claimed a farther mark of their gratitude, as they had principally been distinguished at the battle of Salamis. The people of Ægina, on hearing this, consecrated to the divinity three golden stars, which were fixed upon a brazen mast, in the angle near the cistern of Crœsus.

CXXIII. After the division of the plunder, the Greeks sailed to the isthmus, to confer the reward of valour upon him who should be judged to have been most distinguished during the war. On their arrival here, the Grecian leaders severally

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[103] *Beak of a ship.*]—The first naval triumph at Rome was commemorated in a similar manner. A pillar, or rather trophy, was erected in the forum, composed of the beaks of ships taken from the enemy.—*T.*

rally inscribed their opinions, which they deposited upon the altar of Neptune. They were to declare whom they thought the first, and whom the second in merit: each individual inscribed his own name, as claiming the first reward; but a great majority of them united in declaring Themistocles deserving the second. Whilst each, therefore, had only his own suffrage for the first, Themistocles had the second place awarded him, by a great majority *.

CXXIV. Whilst the Greeks severally returned to their homes, avoiding from envy to decide the question for which they had purposely assembled, Themistocles was not only esteemed, but celebrated through Greece as the first in sagacity and wisdom. Not having been honoured by those with whom he conquered at Salamis, he retired for this purpose to Lacedæmon: here he was splendidly entertained [104], and honourably distinguished.

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* Larcher on this passage makes the following quotation from Cicero:

"Academico sapienti ab omnibus ceterarum sectarum qui sibi sapientes viderentur, secundæ partes dantur, cum primas sibi quemque vindicare necesse sit. Ex quo potest probabiliter conjici cum recte primum esse judicio suo, qui omnium ceterorum judicio sit secundus."

[104] *Splendidly entertained.*]—This was the more remarkable, and must have been a proof of the extraordinary regard in which the character of Themistocles was held, as it was contrary

distinguished. The prize of personal prowess was assigned to Eurybiades; but that of wisdom and skill to Themistocles, and each was presented with an olive crown. To the latter they also gave the handsomest chariot in Sparta; they heaped praises upon him, and when he returned, three hundred chosen Spartans, of those who are called the knights [105], were appointed to attend him as far as Tegea. I know no other example of the Spartans conducting any person from their city.

CXXV. On his return from Lacedæmon to Athens, Timodemus of Aphidna, a man chiefly remarkable for his implacable enmity against Themistocles, denounced his visit to Sparta as a public crime. The honours, he said, which he had received at Lacedæmon, were not bestowed out

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contrary to the genius of the Spartans, and the inveterate prejudices of that people. While at Athens there were sometimes known to be ten thousand foreigners of different nations, all of whom were treated with hospitality and attention, strangers were discouraged from visiting Sparta, and if ever they ventured there, were considered as spies.—*T.*

[105] *The knights.*]—The Greek word is ἱππεις; it nevertheless may fairly be doubted whether they served on horseback, or whether it was not a term of honour only. It is certain the country of Lacedæmon was ill adapted for cavalry; hat Xenophon calls the few they had, πονηρότατοι; and that none but those who were wealthy possessed horses. See Larcher's elaborate note at this word.—*T.*

out of respect to him, but to Athens. Whilst he was continuing his invectives, " Friend," says Themistocles, " the matter is thus; if I had been " a Belbinite [106], I should not have been thus " distinguished at Sparta, nor would you, al- " though an Athenian."

CXXVI. At this juncture, Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who had always had great reputation among his countrymen, and particularly from his conduct at Platea, accompanied the king with a detachment of sixty thousand men of the army which Mardonius had selected. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, and was arrived in Asia, Artabazus returned, and encamped near Pallene. Mardonius had taken up his winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia, and as he did not wish to have his camp enlarged by this additional number, Artabazus thought it expedient to take the opportunity now before him, of chastising the rebellious Potidæans. When the king was gone, and the Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, this people openly revolted from the Barbarians; they of Pallene had done the same.

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[106] *Belbinite.*]—In the beginning of the chapter, Herodotus tells us that this man was of Aphidnæ.—Wesseling thinks, that he might nevertheless be a Belbinite, though, when made a citizen of Athens, he was enrolled in the tribe of Aphidnæ.—*T.*

CXXVII. Artabazus therefore laid siege to Potidæa: distrusting the fidelity of the Olynthians, he attacked them also. Their city was at this time possessed by the Bottiæans, whom the Macedonians had driven from the gulph of Therma. Artabazus having taken their city, put the inhabitants to death in a neighbouring marsh. The government of the place he gave to Critobulus of Torone: the Chalcidians thus became masters of Olynthus.

CXXVIII. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus applied with greater ardour to the siege of Potidæa. He contrived to induce Timoxenus, the chief of the Scionæans, to betray the town into his hands. In what manner their correspondence commenced I am not able to say, I can only speak of the event. Whenever they wanted to communicate with each other, a letter was rolled round a notch in an arrow, and giving wings to this letter, it was shot off to a place agreed upon. But the betrayer of Potidæa was ultimately detected: Artabazus directed an arrow to the concerted place, but it deviated from its direction, and wounded a Potidæan in the shoulder. A crowd, as is usual on such occasions, surrounded the wounded man, who seeing the letter connected with the arrow, carried it immediately to the magistrates, with whom their Pallenian allies were present. The letter was read,

read, and the traitor discovered: it was not, however, thought proper to inflict the deserved punishment on Timoxenus, out of regard to his country, and that the Scionæans might not in future be stigmatized as traitors: but it was in this manner that the treachery of Timoxenus became known.

CXXIX. Artabazus had been now three months before Potidæa, when there happened a great overflowing of the sea, which continued for a considerable time. The Barbarians seeing the ground become a swamp, retired to Pallene: they had already performed two-fifths of their march, and had three more before them, when the sea burst beyond its usual limits with so vast an inundation, that the inhabitants, who had often witnessed similar incidents, represent this as without parallel. They who could not swim were drowned; they who could, were killed by the Potidæans from their boats. This inundation, and the consequent destruction of the Persians, the Potidæans thus explain.—The Barbarians, they say, had impiously profaned the temple and shrine of Neptune, situate in their suburbs, who may therefore be considered as the author of their calamity, which to me appears probable. With the few who escaped, Artabazus joined the army of Mardonius in Thessaly, and this was the fate

fate of those who conducted Xerxes to the Hellespont.

CXXX. The remainder of the fleet of Xerxes, which flying from Salamis, arrived in Asia, after transporting the king and his forces from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyma. In the commencement of the spring it assembled at Samos, where some other vessels had continued during the winter. This armament was principally manned by Persians and Medes, and was under the conduct of Mardontes, the son of Bagæus, and Artayntes, son of Artachæus, whose uncle Amitres had been joined to him as his colleague. As the alarm of their former defeat was not yet subsided, they did not attempt to advance farther westward, nor indeed did any one impel them to do so. Their vessels, with those of the Ionians, amounted to three hundred, and they stationed themselves at Samos, to secure the fidelity of Ionia. They did not think it probable that the Greeks would penetrate into Ionia, but would be satisfied with defending their country. They were confirmed in this opinion, as the Greeks, after the battle of Salamis, never attempted to pursue them, but were content to retire also themselves. With respect to their affairs at sea, the Persians were sufficiently depressed; but they expected that Mardonius would do great things by land. Remaining on

their station at Samos, they consulted how they might annoy the enemy, and they anxiously attended to the progress and affairs of Mardonius.

CXXXI. The approach of the spring, and the appearance of Mardonius in Thessaly, roused the Greeks. Their land army was not yet got together, but their fleet, consisting of a hundred and ten ships, was already at Ægina, under the command of Leutychides. He was descended in a right line from Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratidas, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charilus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanes, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and lastly from Hercules. He was of the second royal family, and all his ancestors, except the two named after Leutychides, had been kings of Sparta. The Athenians were commanded by Xanthippus, son of Ariphron.

CXXXII. When the fleet of the Greeks had arrived at Ægina, the same individuals who had before been at Sparta to entreat the assistance of that people to deliver Ionia, arrived among the Greeks. Herodotus, the son of Basilides, was with them; they were in all seven, and had together concerted the death of Strattes, tyrant of Chios. Their plot having been discovered by one of the accomplices, the other six had withdrawn

drawn themselves to Sparta, and now came to Ægina to persuade the Greeks to enter Ionia: they were induced, though not without difficulty, to advance as far as Delos. All beyond this, the Greeks viewed as full of danger, as well because they were ignorant of the country, as because they supposed the enemy's forces were in all these parts strong and numerous: Samos they considered as not less remote than the pillars of Hercules. Thus the Barbarians were kept by their apprehensions from advancing beyond Samos, and the Greeks, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Chians, would not move farther eastward than Delos. Their mutual alarm thus kept the two parties at an equal distance from each other.

CXXXIII. Whilst the Greeks thus moved to Delos, Mardonius, who had wintered in Thessaly, began to break up his quarters. His first step was to send an European, whose name was Mys, to the different oracles, ordering him to use his endeavours, and consult them all. What it was that he wished to learn from them I am unable to say, for I have never heard; I should, however, suppose, that he only intended to consult them on the immediate state of his affairs.

CXXXIV. It is certain that this man went to Lebadia, and by means of a native of the

country, whom he bribed to his purpose, descended to the cave of Trophonius*; he went also to the oracle of Abas in Phocis; he then proceeded to Thebes, where, with the same ceremonies as are practised in Olympia, he consulted the Ismenian Apollo; afterwards he obtained permission by means of his gold, of some stranger, but not from a Theban, to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraus. No Theban is here permitted to consult the oracle; for when Amphiaraus had formerly submitted to their choice, whether they would have him for their diviner, or for their ally, they preferred having him as the latter. On this account no Theban is allowed to sleep in his temple.

CXXXV. According to the account given me by the Thebans, a remarkable prodigy at this time happened. Mys, the European, having visited all the oracles, came to the temple of Apollo Ptous. This, though so called, belongs to the Thebans; it is beyond the lake of Copais, at the declivity of a mountain near Acræphia [107]. When this Mys arrived here, he was attended by three persons of the place, appointed for the express

* For an account of the oracle of Trophonius, consult book i. c. 46, and for that of Abas also.

[107] *Acræphia.*]—From this place Apollo had the name of Acræphius.—*T.*

press purpose of writing down the answer of the oracle. The priestess immediately made reply to him in a barbarous language[103], which filled those who were present, and who expected the answer to be given in Greek, with astonishment. Whilst his attendants remained in great perplexity, Mys snatched the tablets from their hands, and wrote down the reply of the priestess, which, as afterwards appeared, was in the Carian tongue: having done this, he returned to Thessaly.

CXXXVI. As soon as the oracular declarations had been conveyed to Mardonius, he sent Alexander the Macedonian, son of Amyntas, ambassador to Athens. His choice of him was directed from his being connected with the Persians by ties of consanguinity. Bubares, a Persian, had married Gygæa, sister of Alexander, and daughter of Amyntas: by her he had a son, who after his grandfather, by the mother's side, was called also Amyntas, to whom the king had presented Alabanda, a city of Phrygia. Mardonius was farther influenced in employing Alexander, from his being a man of munificent and hospitable spirit. For these reasons he deemed him the most likely to conciliate the Athenians, who

[103] *Barbarous language.*]—See chapter 18.

who were represented to him as a valiant and numerous people, and who had principally contributed to the defeats which the Persians had sustained by sea. He reasonably presumed, that if he could prevail on them to unite their forces with his own, he might easily become master of the sea. His superiority by land was in his opinion superior to all resistance, and as the oracles had probably advised him to make an alliance with the Athenians, he hoped by these means effectually to subdue the Greeks.

CXXXVII. Attending to this, he sent to Athens Alexander, descended in the seventh degree from Perdiccas, whose manner of obtaining the throne of Macedonia I shall here relate:— Three brothers, Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas, sons of Temenus, fled on some occasion from Argos to Illyrium, from whence retiring to the higher parts of Macedonia, they came to Lebæa. Here they engaged in the service of the king, in different menial employments: one had the care of his horses, another of the cattle, the third and youngest, of the sheep. In remoter times, the families even of kings had but little money [109], and it was the business of the queen herself

[109] *Little money.*]—In the time of the Trojan war, the use of money was not known among the Greeks. Homer and Hesiod

herself to cook for her husband [110]. When the bread prepared by the younger domestic, Perdiccas,

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Hesiod do not speak of gold and silver money; they express the value of things by saying, they are worth so many oxen or sheep. They estimated the riches of a man by the number of his flocks, and that of a country by the abundance of its pastures, and the quantity of its metals. See the Iliad, vii. 466.—Pope's version:

> Each in exchange proportioned treasures gave,
> Some brass or iron, some an ox or slave.

Lucan attributes the invention of money (l. 6, v. 402.) to Itonus, king of Thessaly, and son of Deucalion; others to Ericthonius king of Athens, who, as they say, was the son of Vulcan, and had been brought up by the daughters of Cecrops. Aglaosthenes (in Julius Pollux) gives the honour of this invention to the inhabitants of the island of Naxos. The more received opinion is, that Phidon, king of Argos, and cotemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitus, first introduced the use of money in Ægina, to enable the people of Ægina to obtain a subsistence by commerce, as their island was so barren.

Neither gold nor silver were permitted at Lacedæmon. According to Athenæus, they gave the widow of king Polydonus, who reigned about 130 years before Lycurgus, a certain number of oxen to purchase a house. When Lysander plundered Athens, the Lacedæmonians began to have gold and silver, but only for public necessities, the use of it amongst individuals being forbidden on penalty of death.

Herodotus, l. i. c. 94, says, that the Lydians were the first who coined gold and silver money, and used it in commerce.

The treasuries of Crœsus contained gold and silver only in the mass. See Herodotus, b. vi. c. 125.

[110] For this note, see next page.

diccas, was baked, she always observed that it became twice as big as before; this she at length communicated to her husband. The king immediately considered the incident as a prodigy, and as foreboding some extraordinary event. He therefore sent for the brothers, and commanded them to leave his territories. They told him, it was but reasonable that they should first receive what was due to them. Upon this the king answered, as if heaven-struck, "I give you "this sun (the light of which then came through the chimney) "as proper wages for you." Gavanes and Æropus, the two elder brothers, on hearing this, were much astonished, but the younger one exclaimed, "We accept, O king, what you offer us:" Then taking the sword, for he had one with him, he made a circular mark with

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It does not appear that the Persians had money before the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes. See Herod. l. vi. 166.—l. ix. 40.

[110] *Cook for her husband.*]—A shaik, who has the command of five hundred horse, does not disdain to saddle and bridle his own, nor to give him barley and chopped straw. In his tent his wife makes the coffee, kneads the dough, and superintends the dressing of the victuals: his daughters and kinswomen wash the linen, and go with pitchers on their heads, and veils over their faces, to draw water from fountains. These manners agree precisely with the descriptions in Homer, and the history of Abraham in Genesis.—*Volney.*

with it upon that part of the ground on which the sun shone, and having three several times received the light upon his bosom, departed with his brothers.

CXXXVIII. One of the king's porters informed him of what the young man had done, and of his probable design in accepting what was offered. The king was much incensed, and immediately dispatched some horsemen to kill them. In this country is a river, near which the posterity of those men who were originally from Argos, offer sacrifices as to their preserver. This, as soon as the Temenidæ had got to the opposite bank, swelled to so great a degree that the horsemen were unable to pass it. The Temenidæ arriving at another district of Macedonia, fixed their residence near the gardens, said to belong to Midas the son of Gordius. In these a species of rose * grows naturally, having sixty leaves, and more than ordinary fragrance: here also, as the

* Herodotus is the first author who makes mention of the double rose; and it is a curious fact, that the Rhodian and other coins which have roses on them, are distinguished by having five petals only. Some, however, have imagined, that what are called roses on these coins, may be the plants of the lotus.

Herodotus, it may be observed, speaks of the double rose, as if it were of great rarity.

the Macedonians relate, Silenus[111] was taken. Beyond this place is a mountain, called Bermion, which during the winter, is inaccessible. The Temenidæ first settled here, and afterwards subdued the rest of Macedonia.

CXXXIX. From the above Perdiccas, Alexander was thus descended: he was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas was the son of Alcetas, Alcetas of Æropus, Æropus of Philip, Philip of Argæus, Argæus of Perdiccas, who obtained the kingdom.

CXL. When Alexander arrived at Athens, as deputed

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[111] *Silenus.*]—Most authors affirm that he was a satyr: some confound the Sileni with the satyrs. Marsyas is called Silenus by some writers, and a satyr by others. There was certainly a difference betwixt them; the Sileni were the elder satyrs.—*Larcher.*

According to Pausanias, book i. c. 23, the eldest of the satyrs were called Sileni—τους γαρ ηλικια των σατυρων προηκοντας ονομαζεσι Σειληνους.

If the Sileni differed only from the satyrs in age, it is not at all wonderful that authors have confounded them.

We learn from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, l. iv. 460, that there was a people of Arabia called Selenitæ. It has been said that this name was taken by the Arcadians, to confront the vain boast of the Athenians; see book vii. I think that the name Sileni was assumed by the Arcadians before they began to dispute antiquity with the Athenians. A principal part of their possessions in Asia was called Salonum, and the cheese there made Caseus Salonites, words not unlike Silenus and Selenitæ. The name is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan.—*T.*

deputed by Mardonius, he delivered the following speech: "Men of Athens, Mardonius informs you by me, that he has received a commission from the king of the following import: 'Whatever injuries the Athenians may have done me, I willingly forgive: return them therefore their country; let them add to it from any other they may prefer, and let them enjoy their own laws. If they will consent to enter into an alliance with me, you have my orders to rebuild all their temples, which I have burned.'—It will be my business to do all this unless you prevent me: I will now give you my own sentiments:—What infatuation can induce you to continue your hostilities against a king to whom you can never be superior, and whom you cannot always resist: you already know the forces and exploits of Xerxes; neither can you be ignorant of the army under me. If you should even repel and conquer us, of which if you be wise you can indulge no hope, another army not inferior in strength will soon succeed ours. Do not, therefore, by endeavouring to render yourselves equal to so great a king, risk not only the loss of your native country, but the security of your persons: accept, therefore, of our friendship, and avail yourselves of the present honourable opportunity of averting the indignation of Xerxes.—Be free, and let us mu-

"tually

" tually enter into a solemn alliance, without " fraud or treachery. Hitherto, O Athenians, I " I have used the sentiments and language of " Mardonius; for my own part it cannot be ne- " cessary to repeat what partiality I bear you, " since you have experienced proofs of it before. " Accept, therefore, the terms which Mardonius " offers you; you cannot always continue your " opposition to Xerxes; if I thought you could, " you would not now have seen me. The power " of the king is prodigious[112], and extensive " beyond that of any human being. If you shall " refuse to accede to the advantageous proposals " which are made you, I cannot but be greatly " alarmed for your safety, who are so much " more exposed to danger than the rest of the " confederates, and who, possessing the region " betwixt the two armies, must be involved in " certain ruin. Let, then, my offers prevail with " you as their importance merit, for to you alone " of all the Greeks, the king forgives the in- " juries he has sustained, wishing to become " your friend."

CXLI. The Lacedæmonians having heard that this prince was gone to Athens to invite the Athenians

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[112] *Prodigious.*]—As the word χειρ is used in Greek, so is *manus* in Latin.

An nescis longas regibus esse manus. *Larcher.*

Athenians to an alliance with the Persian, were exceedingly alarmed. They could not forget the oracle which foretold, that they, with the rest of the Dorians, should be driven from the Peloponnese by a junction of the Medes with the Athenians, to whom therefore they lost no time in sending ambassadors. These were present at the Athenian council, for the Athenians had endeavoured to gain time, well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would learn that an ambassador was come to invite them to a confederacy with the Persians, and would consequently send deputies to be present on the occasion; they therefore deferred the meeting, that the Lacedæmonians might be present at the declaration of their sentiments.

CXLII. When Alexander had finished speaking, the Spartan envoys made this immediate reply: "We have been deputed by the Spartans, "to entreat you not to engage in any thing "which may operate to the injury of our com- "mon country, nor listen to any propositions of "Xerxes; such a conduct would not be equit- "able in itself, and would be particularly base "in you from various reasons: you were the "first promoters of this war, in opposition to "our opinion; it was first of all commenced in "vindication of your liberties, though all Greece "was afterwards drawn into the contest. It

"will

" will be most of all intolerable, that the Athe-
" nians should become the instruments of en-
" slaving Greece, who, from times the most re-
" mote, have restored their liberties to many.
" Your present condition does not fail to excite
" in us sentiments of the sincerest pity, who, for
" two successive seasons, have been deprived of
" the produce of your lands, and have so long
" seen your mansions in ruin. From reflecting
" on your situation, we Spartans, in conjunction
" with your other allies, undertake to maintain,
" as long as the war shall continue, not only
" your wives, but such other parts of your fa-
" milies as are incapable of military service.
" Let not, therefore, this Macedonian Alexan-
" der, softening the sentiments of Mardonius,
" seduce you: the part he acts is consistent; a
" tyrant himself, he espouses the interests of a
" tyrant. If you are wise you will always re-
" member, that the Barbarians are invariably
" false and faithless."

CXLIII. After the above address of the Spar tans, the Athenians made this reply to Alexander: " It was not at all necessary for you to inform " us, that the power of the Persians was supe- " rior to our own: nevertheless, in defence of " our liberties, we will continue our resistance " to the utmost of our abilities. You may be " assured that your endeavours to persuade us " into

" into an alliance with the Barbarians never will
" succeed: tell, therefore, Mardonius, on the
" part of the Athenians, that as long as the sun
" shall continue its ordinary course, so long will
" we avoid any friendship with Xerxes, and so
" long will we continue to resist him. Tell him,
" we shall always look with confidence to the
" protecting assistance of those gods and heroes
" whose shrines and temples he has contemptu-
" ously destroyed. Hereafter do not you pre-
" sume to enter an Athenian assembly with
" overtures of this kind, lest whilst you appear
" to mean us well, you prompt us to do what is
" abominable[113]. We are unwilling that you
" should receive any injury from us, having been
" our guest and our friend."

CXLIV. The above was the answer given to Alexander; after which the Athenians thus spoke to the Lacedæmonians: " That the Spartans
" should fear our entering into an alliance with
" the Barbarians seems natural enough; but in
" doing this, as you have had sufficient testi-
" monies

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[113] *What is abominable.*]—" Our ancestors so loved their country," says Lycurgus, " that they were very near stoning Alexander, the ambassador of Xerxes, and formerly their friend, because he required of them earth and water."

It was the circumstance of their being united to him by the ties of hospitality, which induced the Athenians to spare his life. See my note on the ancient rites of hospitality.—*T.*

" monies of Athenian firmness, you certainly did
" us injury. There is not upon earth a quan-
" tity of gold, nor any country so rich or so
" beautiful, as to seduce us to take part with the
" Medes, or to act injuriously to the liberties of
" Greece. If of ourselves we were so inclined,
" there still exist many important circumstances
" to deter us: in the first place, and what is of
" all motives the most powerful, the shrines and
" temples of our deities, consumed by fire, and
" levelled with the ground, prompt us to the
" prosecution of a just revenge, and manifestly
" compel us to reject every idea of forming an
" alliance with him, who perpetrated these im-
" pieties. In the next place, our common con-
" sanguinity, our using the same language, our
" worship of the same divinities, and our prac-
" tice of the same religious ceremonies, render
" it impossible that the Athenians should prove
" perfidious. If you knew it not before, be
" satisfied now, that as long as one Athenian
" shall survive, we will not be friends with
" Xerxes; in the mean time, your interest in
" our fortunes, your concern for the ruin of our
" mansions, and your offers to provide for the
" maintenance of our families, demand our gra-
" titude, and may be considered as the perfec-
" tion of generosity. We will, however, bear
" our misfortunes as we may be able, and not
" be troublesome to you; be it your care to
" bring

" bring your forces into the field as expediti-
" ously as possible; it is not probable that the
" Barbarian will long defer his invasion of our
" country, he will be upon us as soon as he shall
" be informed that we have rejected his pro-
" posals: before he shall be able to penetrate
" into Attica, it becomes us to advance to the
" assistance of Bœotia."

HERODOTUS.

BOOK IX.

CALLIOPE.

CHAP. I.

ON receiving this answer from the Athenians, the ambassadors returned to Sparta. As soon as Mardonius heard from Alexander the determination of the Athenians, he moved from Thessaly, directing by rapid marches his course towards Athens. Wherever he came, he furnished himself with supplies of troops. The princes of Thessaly were so far from repenting of the part they had taken, that they endeavoured still more to animate Mardonius. Of these,

Thorax [1] of Larissæ [2], who had attended Xerxes in his flight, now openly conducted Mardonius into Greece.

II. As soon as the army in its progress arrived at Bœotia, the Thebans received Mardonius. They endeavoured to persuade him to fix his station where he was, assuring him that a place more convenient for a camp, or better adapted for the accomplishment of his purpose, could not be found *. They told him, that by staying here he might subdue the Greeks without a battle. He might be satisfied, they added, from his former experience, that as long as the Greeks were united, it would be impossible for any body of men to subdue them. "If," said they, "you "will be directed by our advice, you will be "able, without difficulty, to counteract their "wisest counsels. Send a sum of money to the "most

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[1] *Thorax.*]—He was the son of Aleuas, and with his two brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, were remarkable for their attachment to Xerxes.—*T.*

[2] *Larissæ.*]—There were several cities of this name in Asia and in Europe. Strabo remarks, that it was something peculiar to the Larissæi, both of Europe and Asia, that the ground or soil of their settlements was alike in three places, at the rivers Cayster, Hermus, and Peneus. It was γη ποταμοχωσος, land thrown up by the river.—*T.*

* Probably because they knew that the region of Attica was not well adapted to the movements of cavalry.

" most powerful men in each city: you will thus " create anarchy in Greece, and by the assistance " of your partizans, easily overcome all oppo- " sition."

III. This was the advice of the Thebans, which Mardonius was prevented from following[3], partly by his earnest desire of becoming a second time master of Athens, and partly by his pride. He was also anxious to inform the king at Sardis, by means of fires[4] dispersed at certain distances along the islands, that he had taken Athens. Proceeding therefore to Attica, he found it totally

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[3] *From following.*]—Diodorus Siculus assures us on the contrary, that Mardonius, whilst in Bœotia, did actually send money to the Peloponnese, to detach the principal cities from the league.

[4] *Fires.*]—I have before spoken on this subject, and informed my reader, how in remoter times intelligence of extraordinary events was communicated from one place to another by reason of fires. The word here is πυρσοισι, which Larcher renders torches, and adds in a note the following particulars:

" Men placed at different distances gave notice of whatever happened. The first who saw any thing gave warning of it by holding up lighted torches; the second held up as many torches as he had seen; the third and the rest did the same: by which means intelligence was communicated to a great distance in a short space of time."—*T.*

Larcher had his information about the signals by fire from Onosanders Strategus.

totally deserted; the inhabitants, as he was informed, being either at Salamis or on board the fleet. He then took possession of Athens a second time, ten months after its capture by Xerxes.

IV. Whilst he continued at Athens, he dispatched to Salamis, Murichides, a native of the Hellespont, with the same propositions that Alexander the Macedonian had before made to the Athenians. He sent this second time, not that he was ignorant of the ill-will of the Athenians towards him; but because he hoped, that seeing Attica effectually subject to his power, their firmness would relax.

V. Murichides went to the council, and delivered the sentiments of Mardonius. A senator named Lycidas gave his opinion, that the terms offered by Murichides were such as it became them to listen to, and communicate to the people, he said this, either from conviction, or seduced by the gold of Mardonius; but he had no sooner thus expressed himself, than both the Athenians who heard him, and those who were without, rushed with indignation upon him, and stoned him[5] to death. They dismissed Murichides without

[5] *Stoned him.*]—A man of the name of Cyrsilus had ten months before met a similar fate for having advised the people to stay in their city and receive Xerxes. The Athenian women in like manner stoned his wife. Cicero mentions

out injury. The Athenian women soon heard of the tumult which had been excited at Salamis on account of Lycidas, when in a body mutually stimulating each other, they ran impetuously to his house, and stoned his wife and his children.

VI. These were the inducements with the Athenians for returning to Salamis: as long as they entertained any expectation of assistance from the Peloponnese, they staid in Attica; but when they found their allies careless and inactive, and that Mardonius was already in Bœotia, they removed with all their effects to Salamis. At the same

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mentions the same fact, probably from Demosthenes.—See *Demost. Orat. pro Cerona.—Larcher.*

The stoning a person to death was in remoter times not only resorted to by the people to gratify their fury against an obnoxious character, but it had the sanction of law, and was a punishment annexed to more enormous crimes. The extreme barbarity of it is too obvious to require discussion; we accordingly find it gradually disused as civilization extended its powerful influence. Within these last centuries, in all the distractions of civil, or the tumults occasioned by religious fanaticism, we meet with no example of any one's being stoned to death. A modern traveller informs us, that lapidation, or stoning to death, is a punishment at this time inflicted in Abyssinia for crimes against religion.—*T.*

Very soon after the first edition of this work was published the women of Paris, better distinguished by the name of Poissardes, in every particular imitated this brutality, and whoever differed with them in opinion were exposed to the danger of the *Lanterne.*

same time they sent envoys to Lacedæmon, to complain that the Spartans, instead of advancing with them to meet the Barbarian in Bœotia, had suffered him to enter Attica. They told them by what liberal offers the Persian had invited them to his friendship; and they forewarned them, that if they were not speedy in their communication of assistance, the Athenians must seek some other remedy. The Lacedæmonians were then celebrating what are called the Hyacinthia[6], which solemnity they deem of the highest importance; they were also at work upon the wall of the Isthmus, the battlements of which were already erected.

VII. The Athenian deputies, accompanied by those of Megara and Platæa, arrived at Lacedæmon, and being introduced to the Ephori[7], thus addressed them: "We have to inform you, on "the

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[6] *Hyacinthia.*]—A particular description of this solemnity is given by Athenæus in his fourth book. They were celebrated in memory of the beautiful Hyacinthus, whose story must be sufficiently familiar; and they were accompanied by games in honour of Apollo. They continued three days, and were exhibited at Amyclæ, in Laconia.—*T.*

[7] *Ephori.*]—Of the Ephori I have before spoken at some length, but I omitted to mention that the principal Ephorus was called Eponymus, as the principal Archon was at Athens, and for the same reason, because from him the year was named ἐφορεύοντος τοῦ δεῖνα.—*T.*

" the part of the Athenians, that the king of the
" Medes has expressed himself willing to restore
" us our country, and to form an alliance with
" us on equitable terms, without fraud or collu-
" sion: he has also engaged to give us any other
" country which we may choose in addition to
" our own. We, however, though deserted and
" betrayed by the Greeks, have steadily refused
" all his offers, through reverence for the Gre-
" cian Jupiter[8], and from detestation of the
" crime of treachery to our countrymen. We
" are sensible that it would be more to our
" advantage to accept the Barbarian's offered
" friendship, than to continue the object of his
" hostilities; we shall however be very unwilling
" to do so. Thus far we have discharged our
" duty to the Greeks with sincerity and candour;
" but you, who were so greatly alarmed at the
" possibility of our becoming the confederates of
" Persia, when once you were convinced that we
" should continue faithful to Greece, and when
" you had nearly completed the wall on the
" Isthmus, thought no farther of us nor of our
" danger. You had agreed with us jointly to
" meet

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[8] *Grecian Jupiter.*]—Pausanias in Corinthiis, c. xxx. speaks of a temple erected to this Jupiter on a mountain called Panhellenium: It was said to have been erected by Æacus. There was also a festival called the Panellenia, celebrated by an assembly of people from the different parts of Greece.—*T.*

" meet the Barbarian in Bœotia; but you never " fulfilled the engagement, considering the en- " trance of the enemy into Attica, as of no im- " portance. The Athenians therefore confess, " that they are incensed against you, as having " violated your engagements. We now require " you instantly to send us supplies, that we may " be able to oppose the Barbarian in Attica. " We have failed in meeting him in Bœotia; but " we think the plains of Thria[9], in our own " territories, a convenient and proper place to " offer him battle."

VIII. The Ephori heard, but deferred answering them till the next day; when the morrow came, they put them off till the day following, and this they did for ten days successively. In this interval, the Peloponnesians prosecuted with great ardour on the Isthmus, their work of the wall, which they nearly completed. Why the Spartans discovered so great an anxiety on the arrival

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[9] *Thria.*]—This was a village in Attica.—See *Spon de Pagis Atticis.* Athens had ten gates, the largest of which, probably because the entrance to the city from Thria, were called Portæ Thriasiæ.—See *Meursius Atticæ Lectiones.* The same gates were afterwards called Dipylon.—See *Plutarch in Pericle.* Παρα τας Θριασιας πυλας αι νυν Διπυλον ονομαζονται. It was also called the sacred gate, and was that through which Sylla entered from the Piræus. It was named moreover the gate of Ceramicus;—*T.*

arrival of Alexander at Athens, least the Athenians should come to terms with the Medes, and why now they did not seem to concern themselves about them, is more than I am able to explain, unless it was that the wall of the Isthmus was unfinished, after which they did not want the aid of the Athenians: but when Alexander arrived at Athens, this work was not completed, although from terror of the Persians they eagerly pursued it.

IX. The answer and motions of the Spartans were finally these: on the day preceding that which was last appointed, a man of Tegea, named Chileus[19], who enjoyed at Lacedæmon greater reputation than any other foreigner, enquired from one of the Ephori what the Athenians had said; which when he knew, he thus addressed them: "Things, O Ephori, are thus circum-"stanced. If the Athenians, withdrawing from "our alliance, shall unite with the Persian, "strong

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[19] *Chileus.*]—Plutarch, in the Essay so often quoted, takes occasion in this place severely to reprobate Herodotus. According to the historian, says he, we are taught to believe, that if any private business had kept Chileus at home, or if the rights of private hospitality had not accidentally subsisted betwixt this man and some of the Ephori, the splendid victory at Platæa never would have happened. Surely it could not be necessary to inform a man of Plutarch's wisdom, that from causes equally insignificant, events not less important than the one here recorded have proceeded.—*T.*

" strong as our wall on the Isthmus may be, the " enemy will still find an easy entrance into the " Peloponnese. Let us therefore hear them, be- " fore they do any thing which may involve " Greece in ruin."

X. The Ephori were so impressed by what Chileus had said, that without communicating with the deputies of the different states, whilst it was yet night, they sent away a detachment of five thousand Spartans, each accompanied by seven Helots, under the conduct of Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus. The command properly belonged to Plistarchus [11], son of Leonidas; he was yet a child, and Pausanias was his guardian and his uncle *. Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, the father of Pausanias, died very soon after having conducted back from the Isthmus, the detachment which constructed the wall. He had brought them back, because, whilst offering a sacrifice to determine whether he should attack the Persian, an eclipse [12] of the sun had happened.

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[11] *Plistarchus.*]—This prince, according to Pausanias, died at a very early age, and was succeeded by the Pausanias here mentioned.—*T.*

* See book i. c. 71.

[12] *An eclipse.*]—That an eclipse in the early ages of ignorance and superstition should be deemed an inauspicious omen seems very natural. A partial deprivation of light or heat,

pened. Pausanias selected as his assistant in command, Euryanactes, son of Dorieus, who was his relation.

XI. With these forces Pausanias left Sparta: the deputies, ignorant of the matter, when the morning came went to the Ephori, having previously resolved to return to their respective cities: "You, O Lacedæmonians," they exclaimed, "lingering here, solemnize the Hyacin-" thia, and are busy in your public games, basely " deserting your allies. The Athenians, injured " by

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heat, contrary to their ordinary experience, and beyond their ability to account for and explain, must to untutored minds have had the appearance of preternatural interposition, and have seemed expressive of divine displeasure.

Mr. Selden makes no scruple to assert, that the authors of the melancholy rites instituted in Phrygia, in honour of Adonis, had no other meaning than to represent thereby the access and recess of the sun. *Attes Hyes*, *Hyes Attes*, was the set form of exclamation used in these mysteries, which, as explained by Bochart, means, *tu es ignis, ille est ignis*, is consistent with Selden's opinion, and justifies us in concluding, that ignis, fire or heat, whether solar or any other, whether real or symbolical, was the chief thing intended and pointed at in these mysteries. Neither is it perhaps unworthy of remark, that Ezekiel was carried to the north door of the temple to behold the women lamenting Thammuz or Adonis.

" Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north, and behold, there sat women weeping for Thammuz."—*Ezek.* viii. 15. —*T.*

" by you, and but little assisted by any, will " make their peace with the Persians on the best " terms they can obtain. When the enmity " betwixt us shall have ceased, and we shall be- " come the king's allies, we shall fight with him " wherever he may choose to lead us: you may " know therefore what consequences you have to " expect." In answer to this declaration of the ambassadors, the Ephori protested upon oath, that they believed their troops were already in Orestium, on their march against the strangers [13]; by which expression they meant the Barbarians. The deputies, not understanding them, requested an explanation. When the matter was properly represented to them, they departed with astonishment to overtake them, accompanied by five thousand armed troops from the neighbourhood of Sparta.

XII. Whilst these were hastening to the Isthmus,

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[13] *The strangers, &c. Barbarians.*]—I have before remarked, that the ancients used the word Barbarians in a much milder sense than we do. In the sense in which it is here used, it occurs in the following classical lines of Milton:

> High on a throne of royal state, which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind,
> Or where the gorgeous east with richest hand
> Show'rs on her king *barbaric* pearl and gold,
> Satan exalted sat.

T.

Isthmus, the Argives [14], as soon as they heard of the departure of Pausanias at the head of a body of troops from Sparta, sent one of their fleetest messengers to Mardonius in Attica. They had before undertaken to prevent the Lacedæmonians from taking the field. When the herald arrived at Athens, "I am sent," said he to Mardonius, "by the Argives, to inform you that "the forces of Sparta are already on their march, "and we have not been able to prevent them; "avail yourself therefore of this information." Saying this, he returned.

XIII. Mardonius, hearing this, determined to stay no longer in Attica. He had continued until this time, willing to see what measures the Athenians would take; and he had refrained from offering any kind of injury to the Athenian lands, hoping they would still make peace with him. When it was evident that this was not to be expected, he withdrew his army, before Pausanias and his detachment arrived at the Isthmus.

He

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[14] *The Argives.*]—Eustathius in Dionys. informs us that Apis having cleared the Peloponnesus of serpents, named it from himself Apia. He was afterwards deified, and thence called Serapis, all which has a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Ægyptians. From these serpents probably this part of the Peloponnese was called Argus, for Argus, according to Hesychius, was used synonimously with Ophis, Serpens.—See Hesychius at the word Ἀιχία. But this is mere conjecture.—*T.*

He did not however depart without setting fire to Athens [15], and levelling with the ground whatever of the walls, buildings, or temples, still remained entire. He was induced to quit his station, because the country of Attica was ill adapted for cavalry, and because in case of defeat he had no other means of escape but through straits, where a handful of men might cut off his retreat. He therefore determined to remove to Thebes, that he might have the advantage of fighting near a confederate city, and in a country convenient for his cavalry.

XIV. Mardonius was already on his march, when another courier came in haste to inform him, that a second body of a thousand Spartans was moving towards Megara. He accordingly deliberated how he might intercept this latter party. Turning aside towards Megara [16], he sent on

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[15] *Fire at Athens.*]—The fate of Athens has been various. It was first burned by Xerxes; the following year by Mardonius; it was a third time destroyed in the Peloponnesian war; it received a Roman garrison to protect it against Philip son of Demetrius, but was not long afterwards ravaged and defaced by Sylla; in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, it was torn in pieces by Alaric, king of the Goths, and is now as obscure and insignificant as it was once famous and splendid. When in its glory, the circumference of the walls of the city alone was seven miles and a half. Modern Athens is called Athini, and sometimes Setines.—*T.*

[16] *Megara.*]—Was at the point of middle distance betwixt

on his cavalry to ravage the Megarian lands. These were the extreme limits, on the western parts of Europe, to which the Persian army penetrated *.

XV. Another messenger now came to tell him, that the Greeks were assembled with great strength at the Isthmus; he therefore turned back through Decelea. The Bœotian chiefs had employed their Asopian neighbours as guides, who conducted Mardonius first to Sphendaleas, and thence to Tanagra. At Tanagra, Mardonius passed the night, and the next day came to Scolos, in the Theban territory. Here the lands of the Thebans, though the friends and allies of the Medes, were laid waste, not from any enmity, but from the urgent

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Athens and Corinth: it took its name either from Megaras, a son of Neptune, or Megareus, a son of Apollo. It was the native place of Euclid the Socratic, and of Theognis. There was a place of the same name in Sicily. The Megara here mentioned retains its ancient name.—*T.*

This people enjoyed no great degree of reputation, as appears among other instances from an oracle preserved in Suidas, the purport of which is this:

You people of Megara are neither the third, the fourth, or even the twelfth in rank, in short you are good for nothing, ουτ εν αριθμῷ.

* How is this to be reconciled with the fact, for the Persians were at Delphi and in Phocis, which is much more to the west. Probably, says Rennel, Herodotus was speaking only of their progress from Attica.

urgent necessities of the army. The general was desirous to fortify his camp, and to have some place of refuge in case of defeat. His camp extended from Erythræ, by Hysiæ, as far as Platæa, on the banks of the Asopus. It was protected by a wall, which did not continue the whole extent of the camp, but which occupied a space of ten stadia in each of the four fronts. Whilst the Barbarians were employed on this work, Attaginus, the son of Phrynon, a Theban, gave a magnificent entertainment, to which Mardonius and fifty Persians of the highest rank were invited. They accepted the summons, and the feast was given at Thebes.

XVI. What I am now going to relate, I received from Tersander, an Orchomenian, one of the most esteemed of his countrymen. He informed me, that he was one of fifty Thebans whom Attaginus at the same time invited. They were so disposed at the entertainment, that a Theban and a Persian were on the same couch [17]. After

[17] *On the same couch.*]—The ancients, in more remote times, sat at table as we do. Homer represents people as sitting round a table. Yet the custom of reclining on a couch at meals must have been practised very early, as is evident from this passage of Herodotus. The Romans also, in the earlier times of the republic, sat; and Montfaucon, expressing his surprise at this, enquires what could possibly induce the Romans, as they became more luxurious and

After the feast they began to drink cheerfully, when the Persian, who was on the same couch, asked him in Greek, "What countryman he was?" he replied, "An Orchomenian." "Well," answered the Persian, "since we have feasted "together, and partaken of the same libations [18], "I would wish to impress upon your mind some- "thing

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voluptuous, to adopt a custom much less convenient and easy. He proceeds to give the following reason from Mercurialis, who says, that they first began to eat in a reclining attitude when the use of the bath became fashionable; it was their custom to bathe before supper; after bathing to lie down, and have their supper placed before them; it soon became universally the practice to eat in that posture. Heliogabalus had his sleeping beds and table beds of solid silver.—See *Montfaucon*, vol. iii. 74. See also Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture, from which I extract the following:

"The Persian carvings at Persepolis frequently exhibit a venerable personage sitting in a sort of high-raised chair, with a footstool; but the later sovereigns of that country have sat with their legs under them, on some carpet or cushion laid on the floor, like their subjects. Two very ancient colossal statues in Ægypt are placed on cubical stones, in the same attitude we make use of in sitting." In like manner, we find the figures on the ancient Syrian coins are represented sitting on seats as we do.—*T.*

[18] *Same libations.*]—The Greek is ομοσπονδος, which perhaps might as well have been rendered drank of the same cup. This expression occurs with great beauty and effect in the lively allegorical description which Nathan gives David of his conduct. "It did eat of his own meat, *and drank of his own cup*, &c."—*T.*

" thing which may induce you to remember me, " and at the same time enable you to provide " for your own security. You see the Persians " present at this banquet, and you know what " forces were encamped upon the borders of the " river; of all these in a short interval very few " will remain." Whilst he was saying this, the Persian wept. His neighbour, astonished at the remark, replied: " Does it not become you " to communicate this to Mardonius, and to " those next him in dignity?" " My friend," returned the Persian, " it is not for man to " counteract the decisions of Providence. Con- " fidence is seldom obtained to the most obvious " truths. A multitude of Persians think as I " do; but, like me, they follow what it is not in " their power to avoid. Nothing in human life " is more to be lamented, than that a wise man " should have so little influence." This information I received from Thersander the Orchomenian, who also told me that he related the same to many, before the battle of Platæa.

XVII. Whilst Mardonius was stationed in Bœotia, all the Greeks who were attached to the Persians supplied him with troops, and joined him in his attack on Athens; the Phoceans alone did not: these had indeed, and with apparent ardour, favoured the Medes, not from inclination but necessity. A few days after the entertainment

tainment given at Thebes, they arrived with a thousand well armed troops under the command of Harmocydes, one of their most popular citizens. Mardonius, on their following him to Thebes, sent some horsemen, commanding them to halt by themselves in the plain where they were: at the same moment, all the Persian cavalry appeared in sight. A rumour instantly circulated among those Greeks who were in the Persian camp, that the Phoceans were going to be put to death by the cavalry. The same also spread through the Phoceans; on which account their leader Harmocydes thus addressed them: "My friends, I am convinced that we are destined to perish by the swords of these men, "and from the accusations of the Thessalians. "Let each man therefore prove his valour. It "is better to die like men, exerting ourselves in "our own defence, than to suffer ourselves to "be slain tamely and without resistance: let "these Barbarians know, that the men whose "deaths they meditate are Greeks."

XVIII. With these words Harmocydes animated his countrymen. When the cavalry had surrounded them, they rode up as if to destroy them: they made a shew of hurling their weapons, which some of them probably did. The Phoceans upon this closed their ranks, and on every part fronted the enemy. The Persians,

seeing this, faced about and retired. I am not able to decide whether, at the instigation of the Thessalians, the Phocæans were actually doomed to death; or whether, observing them determined to defend themselves, the Persians retired from the fear of receiving some injury themselves, and as if they had been so ordered by Mardonius, merely to make experiment of their valour. After the cavalry were withdrawn, an herald came to them on the part of Mardonius: "Men "of Phocis," he exclaimed, "be not alarmed; "you have given a proof of resolution which "Mardonius had been taught not to expect; "assist us therefore in the war with alacrity, "for you shall neither out-do me or the king in "generosity." The above is what happened with respect to the Phocæans.

XIX. The Lacedæmonians arriving at the Isthmus [19], fortified their camp. As soon as this was

[19] *At the isthmus.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that the Peloponnesians, arriving at the Isthmus, agreed without reserve to take the following oath:

"I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not desert my commanders, living or dead; I will grant burial to all the allies who shall perish in the contest; after having vanquished the Barbarians, I will not destroy any city which contributed to their defeat; I will not rebuild any temple which they have burned or overturned; but I will leave them

was known to the rest of the Peloponnesians, all were unwilling to be surpassed by the Spartans, as well they who were actuated by a love of their country, as they who had seen the Lacedæmonians proceed on their march. The victims which were sacrificed having a favourable appearance, they left the Isthmus in a body, and came to Eleusis. The sacrifices at this place being again auspicious, they continued to advance, having been joined at Eleusis by the Athenians, who had passed over from Salamis. On their arrival at Erythræ, in Bœotia, they first learned that the Barbarians were encamped near the Asopus; consulting upon which, they marched forwards to the foot of Mount Cithæron [20].

XX. As they did not descend into the plain [21], Mardonius

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them in their present condition, as a monument to posterity of the impiety of the Barbarians."

Lycurgus says, and with greater probability, that this oath was taken by the confederates of Platæa.—*Lycurg. contra Leocreton.* The oath is there preserved, but it differs in some respect; it adds: "I will decimate all those who have taken part with the Barbarians."—*Larcher.*

[20] *Cithæron.*]—This place was particularly eminent for the sacrifices to Bacchus.—See *Virg. Æn.* v. 301.

Qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyas ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithæron. *T.*

[21] *Into the plain.*]—Plutarch relates some particulars previous to this event, which are worth transcribing.

Mardonius sent the whole of his cavalry against them, under the command of Masistius, called by the Greeks Macisius. He was a Persian of distinction, and was on this occasion mounted on a Nisæan horse [22], decorated with a bridle of gold, and other splendid trappings. When they came near the Greeks, they attacked them in squadrons, did them considerable injury, and by way of insult called them women.

Whilst Greece found itself brought to a most delicate crisis, some Athenian citizens of the noblest families of the place, seeing themselves ruined by the war, and considering that with their effects they had also lost their credit and their influence, held some secret meetings, and determined to destroy the popular government of Athens; in which project if they failed, they resolved to ruin the state, and surrender Greece to the Barbarians. This conspiracy had already made some progress, when it was discovered to Aristides. He at first was greatly alarmed, from the juncture at which it happened; but as he knew not the precise number of conspirators, he thought it expedient not to neglect an affair of so great importance, and yet not to investigate it too minutely, in order to give those concerned opportunity to repent. He satisfied himself with arresting eight of the conspirators; of these, two as the most guilty were immediately proceeded against, but they contrived to escape. The rest he dismissed, that they might shew their repentance by their valour, telling them, that a battle should be the great tribunal to determine their sincere and good intentions to their country.—*Plutarch's Life of Aristides.*

[22] *Nisæan horse.*]—These horses are mentioned as remarkable for their size, in Thalia, c. 136. Strabo says, book the 11th, that they were used by kings, being the best and largest breed, Αριστοις εσι και μεγιστοις; they are said to have been all of a golden colour, ειναι ξανθας πασας.—*T.*

XXI. The situation of the Megarians being most easy of access, was most exposed to the enemy's attack. Being hardly pressed by the Barbarians, they sent an herald, who thus addressed the Grecian commanders: "We Megarians, O allies, are unable to stand the shock "of the enemy's cavalry in our present position: nevertheless, though closely pressed, we "make a vigorous and valiant resistance. If "you are not speedy in relieving us, we shall "be compelled to quit the field." After this report of the heralds, Pausanias wished to see if any of the Greeks would voluntarily offer themselves to take the post of the Megarians. All refused, except a chosen band of three hundred Athenians, commanded by Olympiodorus the son of Lampon.

XXII. This body, which took upon itself the defence of a post declined by all the other Greeks encamped at Erythræ, brought with them a band of archers. The engagement, after an obstinate dispute, terminated thus: The enemies horse attacked in squadrons; the steed of Masistius, being conspicuous above the rest, was wounded in the side by an arrow; it reared, and becoming unruly from the pain of the wound, threw its rider. The Athenians rushed upon him, seized the horse, and, notwithstanding his resistance, killed Masistius. In doing this, however, they had

had some difficulty, on account of his armour. Over a purple tunic he wore a breastplate covered with plates of gold. This repelled all their blows, which some person perceiving, killed him by wounding him in the eye[23]. The death of Masistius was unknown to the rest of his troops; they did not see him fall from his horse, and were ignorant of his fate, their attention being entirely occupied by succeeding in regular squadrons to the charge. At length making a stand, they perceived themselves without a leader. Upon this they mutually animated each other, and rushed in with united force upon the enemy, to bring off the body[24] of Masistius.

XXIII. The Athenians seeing them advance no

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[23] *In the eye.*]—Plutarch, in his Life of Aristides, says that Masistius was killed by a wound through the opening of his helmet.

[24] *Bring off the body.*]—This was considered as a high point of honour in ancient military service. Some of the finest passages of Homer are found in his descriptions of battles about the dead bodies of the slain. The superstitious ideas which prevailed, from the circumstance of a deceased relative's not receiving the rites of burial, are beautifully employed by Sophocles in his Antigone. It seems a very natural impulse, but I remember no other instance where the Persians appear to have been tenacious with respect to this prejudice. Their obstinacy on this occasion might increase in the proportion in which they saw it exercised by their adversaries. On the customs of the Persians with respect to their dead, see book i. c. cxl. and note [185].—*T.*

no longer in successive squadrons, but in a collected body, called out for relief. While the infantry were moving to their support, the body of Masistius was vigorously disputed. While the three hundred were alone, they were compelled to give ground, and recede from the body; but other forces coming to their relief, the cavalry in their turn gave way, and, with the body of their leader, lost a great number of their men. Retiring for the space of two stadia, they held a consultation, and being without a commander, determined to return to Mardonius.

XXIV. On their arrival at the camp, the death of Masistius spread a general sorrow through the army, and greatly afflicted Mardonius himself. They cut off the hair from themselves, their horses, and their beasts of burden, and all Bœotia resounded with their cries and lamentations. The man they had lost was, next to Mardonius, most esteemed by the Persians and the king. Thus the Barbarians according to their manner, honoured the deceased Masistius.

XXV. The Greeks having not only sustained but repelled the attacks of the cavalry, were inspired with increasing resolution. The body of Masistius, which from its beauty and size deserved admiration, they placed on a carriage, and

and passed through the ranks[25], while all quitted their stations to view it. They afterwards determined to remove to Platæa; they thought this a more commodious place for a camp than Erythræ, as well for other reasons as because there was plenty of water. To this place, near which is the fountain of Gargaphie, they resolved to go and pitch a regularly fortified camp. Taking their arms, they proceeded by the foot of Cithæron, and passing Hysiæ, came to Platæa. They drew themselves up in regular divisions of the different nations, near the fountain of Gargaphie[26] and the shrine of the hero Androcrates[27], some on a gently rising ground, others on the plain.

XXVI. In the arrangement of the several nations,

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[25] *Through the ranks.*]—Thus in the twenty-second book of the Iliad, Achilles directs the body of Hector to be carried for inspection through the Grecian army:

> Meanwhile ye sons of Greece in triumph bring
> The corpse of Hector, and your Pæans sing;
> Be this the song, slow moving toward the shore;
> Hector is dead, and Ilion is no more. *T.*

[26] *Gargaphie.*]—This place is celebrated in poetic story for being the place where Actæon was devoured by his dogs.—*T.*

[27] *Androcrates.*]—Androcrates had been anciently a Platæan commander.

tions, a violent dispute arose betwixt the Tegeans and Athenians, each asserting their claim to one of the wings, in vindication of which they appealed to their former as well as more recent exploits. The Tegeans spoke to this effect: "The post which we now claim has ever been "given us by the joint consent of the allies, in "all the expeditions made beyond the Peloponnese: we not only speak of ancient but of "less distant periods. After the death of Eurystheus, when the Heraclidæ[28] made an attempt to return to the Peloponnese, the rank "we now vindicate was allowed us on the following occasion: In conjunction with the "Acheans and Ionians, who then possessed the "Peloponnese, we advanced as allies to the Isthmus, encamping opposite to those who were "endeavouring to return. At that time Hyllus "made a proposition not to risk the safety of "the two armies, but that the Peloponnesians "should select the bravest man of all their army "to engage him in single combat, upon certain "terms. The Peloponnesians assented, and an "oath

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[28] *Heraclidæ.*]—This speech of the Tegeatæ does not to me seem remarkably wise. They had better, I should suppose, have spoken but very tenderly of their exploits against the Heraclidæ in the presence of their immediate descendants, who to punish their arrogance might naturally enough assign the superiority to their rivals, although their pretensions were not so well founded.—*Larcher.*

" oath was taken to this effect: If Hyllus con-
" quered the Peloponnesian chief, the Heraclidæ
" should be suffered to resume their paternal
" inheritance; if Hyllus was vanquished, the
" Heraclidæ were to retire, nor during the
" space of one hundred years make any effort
" to return to the Peloponnese. Echemus the
" son of Œnopus and grandson of Phegeus [29],
" our leader and prince, was selected on this
" occasion by the voice of all the confederates.
" He encountered Hyllus, and slew him. From
" this exploit, the Peloponnesians of that period
" assigned us many honourable distinctions which
" we still retain, and this in particular, that as
" often as any expedition shall be made by their
" joint forces, we should command one of the
" wings. With you, O Lacedæmonians, we do
" not enter into competition, we are willing that
" you should take your post in which wing you
" think proper; the command of the other, which
" has so long been allowed us, we now claim.
" Not to dwell upon the action we have recited,
" we are certainly more worthy of this post than
" the Athenians. On your account, O Spartans,
" as well as for the benefit of others, we have
" fought again and again with success and glory.
" Let

[29] *Phegeus.*]—Larcher, on the authority of Pausanias, proposes to read Cepheus, and I think it ought to be so. Cepheus was one of the Argonauts.

" Let not then the Athenians be on this occasion " preferred to us; for they have never in an " equal manner distinguished themselves in past " or in more recent periods."

XXVII. The Athenians made this reply: " We are well aware, that the motive of our " assembling here is not to spend our time in " altercations, but to fight the Barbarians; but " since it has been thought necessary to urge on " the part of the Tegeatæ their ancient as well " as more recent exploits, we feel ourselves " obliged to assert that right, which we receive " from our ancestors, to be preferred to the Ar- " cadians as long as we shall conduct ourselves " well. Those Heraclidæ, whose leader they " boast to have slain at the Isthmus, after being " rejected by all the Greeks with whom they " wished to take refuge from the servitude of " the people of Mycenæ, found a secure retreat " with us alone. In conjunction with them we " chastised the insolence of Eurystheus, and ob- " tained a complete victory over those who at " that time possessed the Peloponnese. The " Argives, who under Polynices fought against " Thebes, remaining unburied [30], we undertook " an

[30] *Unburied.*]—The sentiments of the ancients, with respect to the bodies of the dead remaining unburied, cannot be

" an expedition against the Cadmeans, reco-
" vered the bodies, and interred them in our
" country at Eleusis[31]. A farther instance of
" our prowess was exhibited in our repulsion of
" the

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be better expressed than in the following lines of Homer, which I give in the version of Pope. The shade of Patroclus, in the 23d book, thus addresses Achilles:

> And sleeps Achilles (thus the phantom said)
> Sleeps my Achilles, his Patroclus dead;
> Living, I seem'd his dearest tenderest care;
> But now forgot, I wander in the air.
> Let my pale corpse the rights of burial know,
> And give me entrance in the realms below;
> Till then the spirit finds no resting place,
> But here and there the unbody'd spectres chase
> The vagrant dead around the dark abode,
> Forbid to cross th' irremeable flood.
> Now give thy hand: for to the farther shore,
> When once we pass, the soul returns no more;
> When once the last funereal flames ascend,
> No more shall meet Achilles and his friend, &c.

Upon this translation of Mr. Pope I may be excused remarking, that in the fourth line, the expression, " I wander in the air," is not in Homer. Homer contents himself with saying, " You did not neglect me living, but dead." The seventh line also is not in Homer: " Till then the spirit," &c. it is implied perhaps, but certainly not expressed. It may seem cavilling to quarrel with the epithet " irremeable" in the tenth line: I can only say it is not in Homer, who merely says υπερ ποταμοιο over the river. " For to the farther shore, when once we pass," in lines eleven and twelve, are not found in Homer.—*T.*

[31] *At Eleusis.*]—Pausanias as well as Herodotus asserts that these bodies were interred at Eleusis.—*Pausan.* l. i. *c.* 39.

" the Amazons[12], who advanced from the river
" Thermodon to invade Attica. We were no
" less conspicuous at the siege of Troy*. But
" this recital is vain and useless; the people
" who were then illustrious might now be base,
" or dastards then, might now be heroes. Enough
" therefore of the examples of our former glory,
" though we are still able to introduce more and
" greater; for if any of the Greeks at the battle
" of Marathon merited renown, we may claim
" this, and more also. On that day we alone
" contended with the Persian, and after a glo-
" rious and successful contest were victorious
" over an army of forty-six different nations;
" which action must confessedly entitle us to the
" post we claim; but in the present state of
" affairs, all dispute about rank is unseasonable;
" we are ready, O Lacedæmonians, to oppose
" the enemy wherever you shall choose to sta-
" tion us. Wherever we may be, we shall en-
" deavour to behave like men. Lead us on
" therefore, we are ready to obey you."

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[12] *Amazons.*]—Concerning the Amazons, see book Melpomene, chap. cx.

See also Rennel on the Geography of Herodotus, p. 91 and p. 204.

* This is one other, among innumerable evidences, that the siege of Troy was universally believed in the remotest periods to have existed.

XXVIII. When the Athenians had thus delivered their sentiments, the Lacedæmonians were unanimous in declaring that the Arcadians must yield to the people of Athens the command of one of the wings. They accordingly took their station in preference to the Tegeatæ. The Greeks who came afterwards, with those who were present before, were thus disposed. The Lacedæmonians, to the number of ten thousand, occupied the right wing; of these, five thousand were Spartans, who were followed by thirty-five thousand Helots lightly armed, allowing seven Helots to each Spartan. The Tegeatæ, to the number of fifteen hundred, were placed by the Spartans, next themselves, in consideration of their valour, and as a mark of honour. Nearest the Tegeatæ, were five thousand Corinthians, who, in consèquence of their request to Pausanias, had contiguous to them three hundred Potidæans of Palene. Next in order were six hundred Arcadians of Orchomene, three thousand Sicyonians, eight hundred Epidaurians, and a thousand Trœzenians. Contiguous to these last were two hundred Lepreatæ; next to whom were four hundred Myceneans and Tirynthians. Stationed by the Tirynthians were in regular succession, a thousand Phtiasians, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians and Styreans: next came four hundred Chalcidians, five

five hundred Ampraciatæ, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians; to whom two hundred Paleans of Cephallenia, and five hundred Æginetæ, successively joined. Three thousand Megareans and six hundred Platæans were contiguous to the Athenians, who to the number of eight thousand, under the command of Aristides, son of Lysimachus, occupied the left wing at the other extremity of the army.

XXIX. The amount of this army, independent of the seven Helots to each Spartan, was thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men, all of them completely armed and drawn together to repel the Barbarian. Of the light-armed troops were the thirty-five thousand Helots, each well prepared for battle, and thirty-four thousand five hundred attendant on the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks*, reckoning a light-armed soldier to every man; the whole of these therefore amounted to sixty-nine thousand five hundred.

XXX. Thus the whole of the Grecian army assembled

* Let it be remembered, to the honour of Greece, that on this occasion the Greeks, whose number only amounted to 110,000, were opposed by 50,000 of their treacherous countrymen. Some noble sentiments of Rennel on the subject of this invasion of Xerxes, I have before quoted. See his Geog. of Herod. p. 320, 321, &c.

assembled at Platæa, including both the heavy and the light-armed troops, was one hundred eight thousand two hundred men; adding to these one thousand and eight hundred Thespians who were with the Greeks, but without arms, the complete number was one hundred and ten thousand. These were encamped on the banks of the Asopus [33].

XXXI. The Barbarian army having ceased to lament Masistius, as soon as they knew that the Greeks were advanced to Platæa, marched also to that part of the Asopus nearest to it; where they were thus disposed by Mardonius. Opposed to the Lacedæmonians were the Persians, who, as they were superior in number, fronted the Tegeatæ also. Of this body the select part was opposed to the Lacedæmonians, the less effective to the Tegeatæ. In making which arrangement,

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[33] *Of the Asopus.*]—An ingenious plan of this battle, which may give the reader a general idea of the respective situations of the two armies, may be seen in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. In the description of places, every succeeding observation of different travellers confirms the fidelity and accuracy of Herodotus. On this subject Mr. Wood speaks thus: "I would not encourage that diffidence in Herodotus which has already been carried too far. Were I to give my opinion of him, having followed him through most of the countries which he visited, I would say, that he is a writer of veracity in his description of what he *saw*, but of credulity in his relations of what he *heard*."—*T.*

arrangement, Mardonius followed the advice of the Thebans. Next to the Persians were the Medes, opposed to the Corinthians, Potidæans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians. The Bactrians were placed next, to encounter the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreatæ, Tirynthians, Myceneans, and Phtiasians. Contiguous to the Bactrians the Indians were disposed, in opposition to the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcidians. The Sacæ, next in order, fronted the Ampraciatæ, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetæ. The Athenians, Platæans, and Megareans were ultimately faced by the Bœotians, Locrians, Melians, Thessalians, and a thousand Phoceans. All the Phoceans did not assist the Medes; some of them about Parnassus, favoured the Greeks, and from that station attacked and harassed both the troops of Mardonius and those of the Greeks who were with him. The Macedonians and Thessalians were also opposed to the Athenians.

XXXII. In this manner Mardonius arranged those nations who were the most numerous and the most illustrious; with these were promiscuously mixed bodies of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, and others. To the above might be added the Æthiopians, and those Ægyptians named Hermotybians and Calasi-

rians [34], who alone of that country follow the profession of arms. These had formerly served on board the fleet, whence they had been removed to the land-forces by Mardonius when at Phalerum: the Ægyptians had not been reckoned with those forces which Xerxes led against Athens. We have before remarked, that the Barbarian army consisted of three hundred thousand men; the number of the Greek confederates of Mardonius, as it was never taken, cannot be ascertained; as far as conjecture may determine, they amounted to fifty thousand. Such was the arrangement of the infantry; the cavalry were posted apart by themselves.

XXXIII. Both armies being thus ranged in nations and squadrons, on the following day offered sacrifices. The divine on the part of the Greeks was Tisamenus, the son of Antiochus, who had accompanied the Grecian army in this character. He was an Elean, of the race of Jamidæ,

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[34] *Hermotybians and Calasirians.*]—See book Euterpe, c. clxiv. p. 165 and 168.

These were the only tribes of the Ægyptians who followed the profession of arms. The pilots and seamen formed a totally distinct class. The proportion of actual sailors on board the ships of the ancients, was very small; and probably their manœuvres, as they never went to any very great distance from shore, were not very complicated.

Jamidæ[35], and of the family of Clytiadæ, but had been admitted to the rights of a Lacedæmonian citizen. Having consulted the oracle at Delphi concerning his offspring, the Pythian informed him, he should be victorious in five remarkable contests. Tisamenus not understanding this, applied himself to gymnastic exercises, presuming that from these he was to expect renown and victory: becoming, therefore, a competitor in the Pentathlon, he carried off all the prizes, except that of wrestling[36], in which he was foiled by Hieronymus an Andrian. The Lacedæmonians, however, applying the oracular declaration to Tisamenus not to gymnastic but military contests, endeavoured to prevail on him by money to accompany their kings, the Heraclidæ,

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[35] *Jamidæ.*]—The families of the Jamidæ, Clytiadæ, and Telliadæ, seem to have been all soothsayers, with some specific distinction. Cicero, in his book de Divinat. makes a difference betwixt the Jamidæ and the Clytiadæ.

Wesseling thinks the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt. Of Jamus, the founder of this family, it may farther be remarked, that his mother being secretly delivered of him, concealed him among the rushes and violets, from whence he had the name of Jamus, Ἰον, Ion, signifying a violet. This is Larcher's account, who refers the reader to Pindar, Olymp. vi. ver. 90.—It nevertheless seems very farfetched.—*T.*

[36] *Except that of wrestling.*]—See Pausanias, l. iii. c. xi. where the same thing is said of this personage.

clidæ, as a leader in their warlike enterprizes. He, observing that his friendship was of importance to the Spartans, endeavoured to make the most of it; he told them, that if they would admit him to all the privileges of a citizen of Sparta, they might expect his services, otherwise not. The Spartans were at first incensed, and for a time neglected him; but when the terror of the Persian army was impending, they acceded to his terms. Tisamenus seeing them thus changed, encreased his demand [37], and insisted upon their making his brother Hegies also a citizen of Sparta.

XXXIV. In this conduct he seems to have imitated the example of Melampus, except that the one claimed a throne, the other the rights of a citizen. Melampus was invited from Pylos by the Argives, for a certain proposed compensation, to remove a kind of madness which prevailed

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[37] *Encreased his demand.*]—The story of the Sibylline books will here occur to the reader. A woman came to Tarquin with nine books of the oracles of the Sibyls, which she offered to sell: the king hesitating about the price, she went away and burned three of them, and then came and asked the same price for the remaining six: Tarquin again refused to accede to her demand; she accordingly went away, and burned three more, and returning, still asked the same price.—The augurs advised the king to pay her, and preserve the books as sacred, which was done.—*T.*

vailed among their women. The Argives, on his requiring half of their kingdom[38], disdained and left him; but as the disease continued to spread still farther among their females, they returned to him, accepting his terms: he observing this change, extended his views, refusing to accomplish what they desired, unless they would also give a third part to his brother Bias: the Argives, compelled by necessity, granted this also.

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[38] *Half of their kingdom.*]—These men sometimes sold their knowledge at a very high price. There were diviners and soothsayers in all parts of Greece; but Elis of the Peloponnese was particularly remarkable for two families, the Jamidæ and the Clytiadæ, who for many generations transmitted the art of divination from father to son.—See *Cicero de Divinat.* l. i. c. 41.—*T.*

Melampus is thus mentioned in the Odyssey:

A wretch ran breathless to the shore,
New from his crime and reeking yet with gore;
A seer he was, from great Melampus sprung,
Melampus, who in Pylos flourish'd long;
Till urg'd by wrongs, a foreign realm he chose,
Far from the hateful cause of all his woes.
Neleus his treasures one long year detains,
As long he groan'd in Philacus's chains.
Meantime what anguish and what rage combin'd,
For lovely Pero rack'd his lab'ring mind;
Yet 'scap'd he death, and vengeful of his wrong,
To Pylos drove the lowing herds along;
Then Neleus vanquish'd, and consign'd the fair
To Bias' arms, he sought a foreign air;
Argos the rich for his retreat he chose,
There form'd his empire, there his palace rose. *T.*

XXXV. In like manner the Spartans, from their want of the assistance of Tisamenus, granted all that he desired. He, from being an Elian, thus became a Spartan, and assisting them as a divine, they obtained five remarkable victories. The Spartans never admitted but these two strangers into the number of their citizens. The five victories were these: the first was this of Platæa; the second was the battle of Tegea, won by the Spartans against the Tegeatæ and the Argives; the third at Dipæa, against all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans; the fourth was over the Messenians at the isthmus; the last at Tanagra[39], against the Athenians and Argives, which completed the predicted number.

XXXVI. This Tisamenus officiated as the augur of the Greeks at Platæa, to which place he had accompanied the Spartans. The sacrifices promised victory to the Greeks if they acted on the defensive, but the contrary, if passing the Asopus, they began the fight.

XXXVII. Mardonius, though anxious to engage, had nothing to hope from the entrails, unless

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[39] *Tanagra.*]—Thucydides, in his account of this battle, agrees with Herodotus, and says that the Lacedæmonians were victorious: Diodorus Siculus, on the contrary, represents it as doubtful.—*Larcher.*

unless he acted on the defensive only. He had also sacrificed according to the Grecian rites, using as his soothsayer Hegesistratus an Elean, and the most illustrious of the Telliadæ. The Spartans had formerly seized this man, thrown him into prison, and menaced him with death, as one from whom they had received many and atrocious injuries. In this distress, alarmed not merely for his life, but with the idea of having previously to suffer many severities, he accomplished a thing which can hardly be told. He was confined in some stocks bound with iron, but accidentally obtaining a knife, he perpetrated the boldest thing which has ever been recorded. Calculating what part of the remainder he should be able to draw out, he cut off the extremity of his foot; this done, notwithstanding he was guarded, he dug a hole under the wall, and escaped to Tegea, travelling only by night, and concealing himself in the woods during the day. Eluding the strictest search of the Lacedæmonians, he came on the third night to Tegea, his keepers being astonished at his resolution, for they saw the half of his foot, but could not find the man. In this manner Hegesistratus escaped to Tegea, which was not at that period in amity with Sparta. When his wound was healed he procured himself a wooden foot, and became an avowed enemy to Sparta. His animosity, however, against the Lacedæmonians proved ultimately

mately of no advantage to himself, he was taken in the exercise of his office at Zacynthus, and put to death.

XXXVIII. The fate of Hegesistratus was subsequent to the battle of Platæa: but at the time of which we were speaking, Mardonius, for a considerable sum, had prevailed with him to sacrifice, which he eagerly did, as well from his hatred of the Lacedæmonians, as from the desire of reward; but the appearance of the entrails gave no encouragement to fight, either to the Persians or their confederate Greeks, who also had their own appropriate soothsayer, Hippomachus of Leucadia. As the Grecian army continually encreased, Timogenides* of Thebes, son of Herpys, advised Mardonius to guard the pass of Cithæron, representing that he might thus intercept great bodies, who were every day thronging to the allied army of the Greeks.

XXXIX. The hostile armies had already remained eight days encamped opposite to each other, when the above counsel was given to Mardonius. He acknowledged its propriety, and immediately on the approach of night, detached some

* Pausanias speaks of Timogenides and Attaginus, the most illustrious citizens of Thebes, as betrayers of their country.

some cavalry to that part of Cithæron leading to Platæa, a place called by the Bœotians the "Three Heads," by the Athenians the "Heads "of Oak." This measure had its effect, and they took a convoy of five hundred beasts of burden, carrying a supply of provisions from the Peloponnese to the army: with the carriages, they took also all the men who conducted them. Masters of this booty, the Persians, with the most unrelenting barbarity, put both men and beasts to death: when their cruelty was satiated, they returned with what they had taken to Mardonius.

XL. After this event two days more passed, neither army being willing to engage. The Barbarians, to irritate the Greeks, advanced as far as the Asopus, but neither army would pass the stream. The cavalry of Mardonius greatly and constantly harassed the Greeks. The Thebans, who were very zealous in their attachment to the Medes, prosecuted the war with ardour, and did every thing but join battle; the Persians and Medes supported them, and performed many illustrious actions.

XLI. In this situation things remained for the space of ten days: on the eleventh, the armies retaining the same position with respect to each other, and the Greeks having received considerable reinforcements, Mardonius became disgusted with

with their inactivity. He accordingly held a conference with Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who was one of the few Persians whom Xerxes honoured with his esteem: it was the opinion of Artabazus that they should immediately break up their camp, and withdraw beneath the walls of Thebes, where was already prepared a magazine of provisions for themselves, and corn for their cavalry: here they might at their leisure terminate the war by the following measures. They had in their possession a great quantity of coined and uncoined gold, with an abundance of silver and plate: it was recommended to send these with no sparing hand to the Greeks, and particularly to those of greatest authority in their respective cities. It was urged, that if this were done, the Greeks would soon surrender their liberties, nor again risk the hazard of a battle. This opinion was seconded by the Thebans, who thought that it would operate successfully. Mardonius was of a contrary opinion, fierce, obstinate, and unyielding. His own army he thought superior to that of the Greeks, and that they should by all means fight before the Greeks received farther supplies; that they should give no importance to the declarations of Hegesistratus, but without violating the laws of Persia, commence a battle in their usual manner.

XLII. This opinion of Mardonius nobody thought proper to oppose, for to him, and not

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to Artabazus, the king had confided the supreme command of the army. He therefore assembled the principal officers of the Persians and confederate Greeks, and asked them, whether they knew of any oracle predicting that the Persians should be overthrown by the Greeks. No one ventured to reply, partly because they were ignorant of any such oracle, and partly because they were fearful of delivering their real sentiments. Mardonius, therefore, thus addressed them: "As either you know no such oracle, or "dare not say what you think, I will tell you my "opinion, which I conceive to be well founded: "an oracle has said, that the Persians, on their "entering Greece, shall plunder the temple of "Delphi, and in consequence be destroyed. "Being aware of this, we will not approach that "temple, nor make any attempt to plunder it, "and thus shall avoid the ruin which has been "menaced: let then all those among you, who "wish well to Persia, rejoice in the conviction "that we shall vanquish the Greeks." Having said this, he ordered that every thing should be properly disposed to commence the attack early in the morning.

XLIII. The oracle which Mardonius applied to the Persians referred, as I well know, not to them but to the Illyrians and Encheleans[40]. Upon the

[40] *Illyrians and Encheleans.*]—Pausanias, who describes with

the event of this battle, this oracle had been communicated from Bacis:

" Thermodon's and Asopus' banks along,
" The Greeks in fight against Barbarians throng;
" What numbers then shall press th' ensanguin'd
" field,
" What slaughter'd Medes their vital breath shall
" yield."

These words, and others of Musæus like them, doubtless related to the Persians. The Thermodon flows betwixt Tanagra and Glisas[41].

XLIV. After Mardonius had thus spoken concerning the oracles, and endeavoured to animate his troops, the watches of the night were set. When the night was far advanced, and the strictest silence prevailed through the army, which

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with so much exactness the antiquities of Greece, does not (in Phocis) say any thing either of the plunder of the temple of Delphi, or of the calamities of the people concerned in it. Appian says, that the Antanians, who were an Illyrian nation, plundered this temple, and were destroyed by a pestilence. Something more to the purpose is found in Euripides: Bacchus discovers to Cadmus an oracle of Jupiter, which predicted to him, that when he should retire among the Illyrians and Encheleans, he should reign over these people, and that they should destroy a vast number of cities; but that after having plundered the temple of Delphi, they should have an unfortunate return. If we had the oracle itself, we might see in what manner Mardonius applied it to the Persians.—*Larcher.*

[41] *Glisas.*—This place is indifferently written Glisas, and Glissas, and was anciently famous for its wine.

which was buried in sleep, Alexander, son of Amyntas, general and prince of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts, and earnestly desired to speak with their commanders. On hearing this, the greater number continued on their posts, while some hastened to their officers, whom they informed that a horseman was arrived from the enemy's army, who, naming the principal Greeks, would say nothing more than that he desired to speak with them.

XLV. The commanders[42] lost no time in repairing to the advanced guard, where, on their arrival, they were thus addressed by Alexander: "I am come, O Athenians, to inform you of a "secret, which you must impart to Pausanias "only[43], least my ruin ensue. Nor would I "speak now, were not I anxious for the safety "of Greece. I from remote antiquity am of "Grecian origin, and I would not willingly see "you exchange freedom for servitude: I have "therefore

[42] *The commanders.*]—Plutarch, who mentions this interview, speaks only of Aristides. "A man on horseback," says he, "approached silently the Grecian camp, and addressing himself to the centinels, desired to speak with Aristides, who came immediately.—*Larcher.*

[43] *To Pausanias only.*]—This account is more probable than that given by Plutarch, who makes Alexander say to Aristides, that he must not communicate the secret to any one.—*Larcher.*

" therefore to inform you, that if Mardonius and " his army could have drawn favourable omens " from their victims, a battle would long since " have taken place: intending to pay no farther " attention to these, it is his determination to " attack you early in the morning, being afraid, " as I suppose, that your forces will be yet more " numerous. Be, therefore, on your guard; but " if he still defer his purpose of an engagement, " do you remain where you are, for he has pro- " visions but for a few days more. If the event of " this war shall be agreeable to your wishes, it " will become you to make some efforts to restore " my independence, who, on account of my " partiality to the Greeks, have exposed myself " to so much danger in thus acquainting you " with the intention of Mardonius, to prevent " the Barbarians attacking you by surprize. I " am Alexander[44] of Macedon." When he had thus

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[44] *I am Alexander.*]—

Aristides hastes—
To whom the stranger:—bulwark of this camp,
Hear, credit, weigh the tidings which I bear:
Mardonius, press'd by fear of threat'ning want,
At night's fourth watch the fatal stream will pass,
Inflexibly determin'd, tho' forbid
By each diviner, to assail your host
With all his numbers.—I against surprize
Am come to warn you: thee alone I trust,
My name revealing. I, O man divine,

I who

thus spoken, he returned to his station in the Persian camp.

XLVI. The Athenian chiefs went to the right wing, and informed Pausanias of what they had learned from Alexander. Pausanias, who stood in much awe [45] of the Persians, addressed them thus in

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I who thus hazard both my realm and life,
Am Alexander, Macedonian friend
Of Athens —Kindly on a future day
Remember me. *Athenaid.*

[45] *In much awe.*]—Commenting on this passage, Wesseling asks, if Pausanias had forgotten the noble defence of the three hundred Spartans at the straits of Thermopylæ? and if their glorious deaths had rendered the Persians more terrible? To this Larcher replies, in a manner not entirely satisfactory: he observes, that the Spartans on that occasion being all slain, there was not one in the army of Pausanias who had been engaged against the Persians, and who was acquainted with their mode of fighting.

It seems very singular that M. Larcher should not remember, that there was a man in the army of Pausanias who had fought with the Persians, escaped the great destruction of his countrymen, and consequently could have informed his fellow soldiers in what manner the Persians fought. See chapter lxx. of this book, in which we are told, that Aristodemus, who escaped from Thermopylæ, most distinguished himself at Platæa, in order to retrieve his reputation. We find also, that Leonidas had sustained many battles with the flower of the Persian army, aided by his Grecian allies, before he devoted himself and his three hundred to death, dismissing all the rest of his army.

But after all, the most serious objection to this passage of Herodotus is, that it evidently militates with the received

in reply: " As a battle is to take place in the " morning, I think it adviseable that you, Athe- " nians, should front the Persians, and we, those " Bœotians and Greeks who are now posted op- " posite to you. You have before contended " with the Medes, and know their mode of " fighting by experience at Marathon; we have " never had this opportunity; but we have before " fought the Bœotians, and Thessalians; take, " therefore, your arms, and let us exchange " situations." " From the first," answered the Athenians, " when we observed the Persians " opposed to you, we wished to make the pro- " posal[46] we now hear from you; we have been " only

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opinions of the discipline of Sparta, and the patient fortitude which was the characteristic feature of that singular people. —*T.*

In his second edition, Larcher combats the opinion given in the above note, but does not entirely get rid of the objection.

He asserts, that Aristodemus and Partites were not actually present at the battle of Thermopylæ. Certainly they were not, but they were present at many previous skirmishes, and indeed severe engagements with the Persians, in which the Greeks constantly repulsed their enemies.—They consequently both better knew the Persian mode of fighting, and Aristodemus in particular was able to inform Pausanias on the subject.

[46] *Make the proposal.*]—According to Plutarch, the Grecian leaders were at first exceedingly offended at this conduct of Pausanias, but were pacified by the remonstrances of Aristides.

" only deterred by our fear of offending you:
" as the overture comes from you, we are ready
" to comply with it."

XLVII. This being agreeable to both, as soon as the morning dawned they changed situations; this the Bœotians observed, and communicated to Mardonius. The Persian general immediately exerted himself to oppose the Lacedæmonians with his troops. Pausanias, on seeing his scheme thus detected, again removed the Spartans to the right wing, as did Mardonius instantly his Persians to the left.

XLVIII. When the troops had thus resumed their former posts, Mardonius sent a herald with this message to the Spartans: " Your character,
" O Lacedæmonians, is highly celebrated among
" all these nations, as men who disdain to fly;
" who never desert your ranks, determined
" either to slay your enemies or die.—Nothing
" of this is true: we perceive you in the act of
" retreating, and of deserting your posts before
" a battle is commenced: we see you delegating
" to the Athenians the more dangerous attempt
" of opposing us, and placing yourselves against
" our slaves, neither of which actions is con-
" sistent with bravery. We are, therefore, greatly
" deceived in our opinion of you; we expected,
" that from a love of glory you would have dis-

" patched a herald to us, expressing yourselves " desirous to combat with the Persians alone. " Instead of this we find you alarmed and ter- " rified; but as you have offered no challenge to " us, we propose one to you. As you are es- " teemed the most illustrious of your army, why " may not an equal number of you, on the part " of the Greeks, and of us on the part of the " Barbarians, contend for victory? If it be " agreeable to you, the rest of our common " forces may afterwards engage; if this be un- " necessary, we will alone engage, and which- " ever conquers shall be esteemed victorious " over the whole[47] of the adverse army."

XLIX. The herald, after delivering his commission, waited some time for an answer; not receiving any, he returned to Mardonius. He was exceedingly delighted, and already anticipating a victory, sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks; these with their lances and arrows materially distressed the Grecian army, and forbade any

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[47] *Over the whole.*]—Such partial challenges, as preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, seem in cases of unavoidable hostilities most consonant to the dictates of humanity, and we find them frequently adopted in the earlier ages of the world. The histories of Greece and Rome abound with innumerable examples of this kind; as war gradually refined into a science, they came into disuse, and in later times have been totally laid aside.—*T.*

any near approach. Advancing to the Gargaphian fountain, which furnished the Greeks with water, they disturbed [48] and stopped it up. The Lacedæmonians alone were stationed near this fountain, the other Greeks, according to their different stations, were more or less distant, but all of them in the vicinity of the Asopus; but as they were debarred from watering here, by the missile weapons of the cavalry, they all came to the fountain.

L. In this predicament the leaders of the Greeks, seeing the army cut off from the water, and harassed by the cavalry, came in crowds to Pausanias on the right wing, to deliberate about these and other emergencies. Unpleasant as the present incident might be, they were still more distressed from their want of provision: their servants, who had been dispatched to bring this from the Peloponnese, were prevented by the cavalry from returning to the camp.

LI. The Grecian leaders, after deliberating upon

[48] *Disturbed, &c.*]—Bellanger is very angry with M. l'Abbé Gedoyn, for making Pausanias say, that Mardonius on this occasion *poisoned* the water. "The Persians, barbarians," says he, "as they were, had a greater respect for the laws of nations, and the rights of humanity:—they were not poisoners." The Greek expression in Herodotus is συνεταραξαν ϗ συνεχωσαν. The word which Pausanias uses is συνεχεεν.—*T.*

upon the subject, determined, if the Persians should for one day more defer coming to an engagement, to pass to the island opposite to Platæa, and about ten stadia from the Asopus and the fountain Gargaphie, where they were at present encamped. This island is thus connected with the continent: the river, descending from Cithæron to the plain, divides itself into two streams, which after flowing separately, for about the distance of three stadia, again unite, thus forming the island which is called Oëroë, who, according to the natives, is the daughter of Asopus[49]. The Greeks by this measure proposed to themselves two advantages; first to be secure of water, and secondly to guard against being farther annoyed by the enemy's cavalry. They resolved to decamp at the time of the second watch[50] by night, least the Persians, perceiving them,

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[49] *Daughter of Asopus.*]—Diodorus Siculus, who mentions the twelve daughters of Asopus, and Apollodorus, who speaks of twenty by name, says nothing of this Oëroë.

Diodorus Sic. speaks of Ægina, as well as Apollodorus, which last remarks that Ægina is the same with Œnone. Perhaps it is a mistake in the text of Herodotus, and Œnone is the true reading.—*Larcher.*

[50] *Second watch.*]—About four hours after sun-set. The Greeks divided the night into three watches.—*Larcher.*

The Romans divided their night into four watches. They had a *tessera*, upon which something was inscribed; this was given from one centurion to another throughout the army, till it returned to the man from whom it was first received.—*T.*

them, should pursue and harass them with their cavalry. It was also their intention, when arrived at the spot where the Asopian Oëroë is formed by the division of the waters flowing from Cithæron, to detach one half of their army to the mountain to relieve a body of their servants, who, with a convoy of provisions, were there encompassed.

LII. After taking the above resolutions, they remained all that day much incommoded by the enemy's horse: when these, at the approach of evening, retired, and the appointed hour was arrived, the greater part of the Greeks began to move with their baggage, but without any design of proceeding to the place before resolved on. The moment they began to march, occupied with no idea but that of escaping the cavalry, they retired towards Platæa, and fixed themselves near the temple of Juno, which is opposite to the city, and at the distance of twenty stadia from the fountain of Gargaphie: in this place they encamped.

LIII. Pausanias, observing them in motion, gave orders to the Lacedæmonians to take their arms, and follow their route, presuming they were proceeding to the appointed station. The officers all shewed themselves disposed to obey the orders of Pausanias, except Amompharetus, the

the son of Poliadas, captain of the band of Pitanatæ[51], who asserted that he would not fly before the Barbarians, and thus be accessary to the dishonour of Sparta: he had not been present at the previous consultation, and knew not what was intended. Pausanias and Euryanax, though indignant at his refusal to obey the orders which had been issued, were still but little inclined to abandon the Pitanatæ, on the account of their leader's obstinacy; thinking, that by their prosecuting the measure which the Greeks in

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[51] *Pitanatæ.*]—At this word Larcher quotes from Pausanias the following passage:—"There is a part of Sparta called the *Theometidæ*, where are the tombs of the princes, called Agidæ. Near this is the place where the Crotani assemble, and the Crotani are the body of troops named the *Pitanatæ.*"

Thucydides, on the contrary, asserts that there never was a body of troops at Lacedæmon distinguished by this name. —See *Duker's edition of Thucydides*, page 17.

The following passage, however, occurs in Pausanias, l. iii. c. 14.

There is a village in Sparta called Theometis; here are the tombs of the kings called Agidæs; near this is the place where the Crotani assemble. The Crotani are a part of the Pitanates.

According to Meursius; see his Miscellanea Laconica, l. ii. c. 2. Thucydides says this of the cohort called Σκιρίτης. See also the same author's Atticæ Lectiones, l. i. c. 16.

Herodian, l. iv. says, that Antoninus Caracalla instituted at Rome a band, which he named Pitanetes. The word is derived from Pitana, a daughter of Eurotas, from whom a city was so called, which was the country of Menelaus.—*T.*

in general had adopted, Amompharetus and his party must unavoidably perish. With these sentiments the Lacedæmonians were commanded to halt, and pains were taken to dissuade the man from his purpose, who alone, of all the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, was determined not to quit his post.

LIV. At this crisis the Athenians determined to remain quietly on their posts, knowing it to be the genius of the Lacedæmonians to say one thing and think another[52]. But as soon as they observed

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[52] *Think another.*]—Artifice and cunning were adopted by Lycurgus in the system of his politics. To *æolize*, or to deceive, was made a distinguishing note and maxim of the Spartan government. Αιολος, Hesychius explains by the word ποικιλος, duplex, a sharper. The care which they took at Sparta to train their youth in the arts of wiliness and deceit, the applause which was bestowed on the young knave who excelled therein, and the chastisement inflicted on the lad who miscarried, and was detected, ὡς κακως κλεπτοντα, as one who had not yet learned his lesson, shew that they were reconciled to their name in its worst acceptation. To give it the best construction, we ought to consider, that the object Lycurgus had in view, was to render the people expert in the stratagems of war,—τες παιδας ποιειν πολεμικωτερες.—*Xenoph. de Lac. Rep.* The arms of the Spartan monarchy were *an eagle holding a serpent;* symbolically representing a superiority of cunning—Αιετος δρακοντος επειλημενος; with this seal was their letter signed, which they sent to Onias the high priest.—See *Joseph. A. J.* l. xii. c. 5. See also the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, where the expression Αιολος Δρακων occurs.—*T.*

Andromache

observed the troops in motion, they dispatched a horseman to learn whether the Lacedæmonians intended to remove, and to enquire of Pausanias what was to be done.

LV. When the messenger arrived, he found the men in their ranks, but their leaders in violent altercation. Pausanias and Euryanax were unsuccessfully attempting to persuade Amompharetus not to involve the Lacedæmonians alone in danger by remaining behind, when the Athenian messenger came up to them. At this moment, in the violence of dispute, Amompharetus took up a stone with both his hands, and throwing it at the feet of Pausanias, exclaimed, "There is my vote for not flying before the foreigners;" so terming the Barbarians. Pausanias, after telling him that he could be only actuated by phrenzy, turned to the Athenian who delivered his commission. He afterwards desired him to return, and communicate to the Athenians the state in which he found them, and to

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Andromache thus addresses Menelaus in Euripides:

> O ye vile Spartans, most of all mankind
> By all the world detested; trained in wiles;
> Supreme in falshoods; artful to devise
> Whate'er of mischief; dark in your designs,
> And intricate, unsafe, your thoughts involved
> Maze within maze, &c. &c.
>
> *Potter's Translation.*

to entreat them immediately to join their forces, and act in concert, as should be deemed expedient.

LVI. The messenger accordingly returned to the Athenians, whilst the Spartan chiefs continued their disputes till the morning. Thus far Pausanias remained indecisive, but thinking, as the event proved, that Amompharetus would certainly not stay behind, if the Lacedæmonians actually advanced, he gave orders to all the forces to march forward by the heights, in which they were followed by the Tegeans. The Athenians keeping close to their ranks, pursued a route opposite to that of the Lacedæmonians; these last, who were in great awe of the cavalry, advanced by the steep paths which led to the foot of mount Cithæron; the Athenians marched over the plain.

LVII. Amompharetus never imagining that Pausanias would venture to abandon them, made great exertions to keep his men on their posts; but when he saw Pausanias advancing with his troops, he concluded himself effectually given up; taking therefore his arms, he with his band proceeded slowly after the rest of the army. These continuing their march for a space of ten stadia, came to a place called Argiopius, near the river Moloës, where is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres,

Ceres, and there halted, waiting for Amompharetus and his party. The motive of Pausanias in doing this was, that he might have the opportunity of returning to the support of Amompharetus, if he should be still determined not to quit his post. Here Amompharetus and his band joined them; the whole force of the enemy's horse continuing as usual to harass them. As soon as the Barbarians discovered that the spot where the Greeks had before encamped was deserted, they put themselves in motion, overtook, and materially distressed them.

LVIII. Mardonius being informed that the Greeks had decamped by night, and seeing their former station unoccupied, sent for Thorax of Larissæ, and his brothers Eurypilus, and Thrasydeïus, and thus addressed them: "Sons of "Aleuas[53], what will you now say, seeing the "Lacedæmonians desert their post, whom you, "their

[53] *Sons of Aleuas.*]—

Now, Larissæan Thorax, and the rest
Of Aleuadian race, now, Theban lords,
Judge of the Spartans justly. Vaunted high
For unexampled prowess, them you saw
First change their place, imposing on the sons
Of Athens twice the formidable task
To face my chosen Persians; next, they gave
To my defiance no reply; and last,
Are fled before me; can your augurs shew
A better omen than a foe dismay'd?" &c. *Athenaid.*

" their neighbours, asserted to be men who " never fled, but were above all others valiant. " You have before seen them change their sta- " tion in the camp, and you find, that in the " last night, they have actually taken themselves " to flight. They have now shewn, that being " opposed by men of undisputed courage, they " are of no reputation themselves, and are as " contemptible as their fellow Greeks; but as " you may have had some testimony of their " prowess, without being spectators of ours, I " can readily enough forgive the praises which " you rendered them. But that Artabazus, from " his terror of these Spartans, should assert an " opinion full of pusillanimity, and endeavour " to prevail on us to leave this station, and re- " tire to Thebes, fills me with astonishment.— " The king, however, shall hear from me of his " conduct; but of this more hereafter: let us, " therefore, not suffer these men to escape, but " pursue them vigorously, and chastise them " with becoming severity for their accumulated " injuries to Persia."

LIX. Having thus expressed himself, he led the Persians over the Asopus, and pursued the path which the Greeks had taken, whom he considered as flying from his arms. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were the sole objects of his attack, for the Athenians, who had marched

over

over the plain, were concealed by the hills from his view. The other Persian leaders seeing the troops moving, as if in pursuit of the Greeks, raised their standards, and followed the rout with great impetuosity, but without regularity or discipline; they hurried on with tumultuous shouts, considering the Greeks as absolutely in their power.

LX. When Pausanias found himself thus pressed by the cavalry, he sent a horseman with the following message to the Athenians: "We "are menaced, O Athenians, by a battle, the "event of which will determine the freedom or "slavery of Greece; and in this perplexity you, "as well as ourselves, have, in the preceding "night, been deserted by our allies. It is ne-"vertheless our determination to defend our-"selves to the last, and to render you such "assistance as we may be able. If the enemy's "horse had attacked you, we should have "thought it our duty to have marched with the "Tegeatæ, who are in our rear, and still faith-"ful to Greece, to your support. As the whole "operation of the enemy seems directed against "us, it becomes you to give us the relief we "materially want; but if you yourselves are so "circumstanced, as to be unable to advance to "our assistance, at least send us a body of "archers. We confess, that in this war your "activity

" activity has been far the most conspicuous,
" and we therefore presume on your compliance
" with our request."

LXI. The Athenians, without hesitation, and with determined bravery, advanced to communicate the relief which had been required. When they were already on their march, the confederate Greeks, in the service of the king, intercepted and attacked them: they were thus prevented from assisting the Lacedæmonians, a circumstance which gave them extreme uneasiness. In this situation the Spartans, to the amount of fifty thousand light-armed troops, with three thousand Tegeatæ[54], who on no occasion were separated from them, offered a solemn sacrifice[55], with the resolution of encountering

[54] *Tegeatæ.*]—

Of the Spartans there were	5,000
Seven Helots to each Spartan	35,000
Lacedæmonians	5,000
A light-armed soldier to each Lacedæmonian	5,000
Tegeatæ	1,500
Light-armed Tegeatæ	1,500
Total	53,000

See chapters xxviii. and xxix.

[55] *Sacrifice.*]—Plutarch gives various particulars of this action omitted by Herodotus, which the reader perhaps may as well like to see in the words of Glover, who has almost literally copied Plutarch:

Slain is the victim, but the inspecting seer
Reveals no sign propitious. Now full nigh

countering Mardonius. The victims, however, were not auspicious, and in the mean time many of them were slain, and more wounded. The Persians, under the protection of their bucklers[56], showered

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The foremost Persian horse discharge around
Their javelins, darts, and arrows. Sparta's chief,
In calm respect of inauspicious heaven,
Directs each soldier at his foot to rest
The passive shield, submissive to endure
Th' assault, and watch a signal from the gods,
A second time unfavourable prove
The victim's entrails.—Unremitted showers
Of pointed arms distribute wounds and death.
A second victim bleeds: the gath'ring foes
To multitude are grown: the showers of death
Increase. Then melted into flowing grief
Pausanian pride.—He towards the fane remote
Of Juno lifting his afflicted eyes,
Thus suppliant spake: O goddess, let my hopes
Be not defeated, whether to obtain
A victory so glorious, or expire
Without dishonour to Herculean blood.—
The sacrifice is prosperous, &c.

Potter gives a particular account of the mode of divination, by inspecting the entrails. If they were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour, and proportion, all was well; if any thing was out of order, or wanting, evil was portended. The palpitation of the entrails was unfortunate; if the liver was bad they inspected no farther. For other particulars, see Potter. The Roman mode of divination by the entrails, was the same as that of the Greeks.—*T.*

[56] *Their bucklers.*]—The Persian bucklers were made of osier, and covered with skin.—See *Taylor on Demosthenes*, vol. iii. p. 620.

Of the Persian mode of carrying their quivers behind, or under their shield; see before.

showered their arrows upon the Spartans with prodigious effect. At this moment Pausanias, observing the entrails still unfavourable, looked earnestly towards the temple of Juno at Platæa, imploring the interposition of the goddess, and entreating her to prevent their disgrace and defeat.

LXII. Whilst he was in the act of supplicating the goddess, the Tegeatæ advanced against the Barbarians : at the same moment the sacrifices became favourable, and Pausanias, at the head of his Spartans, went up boldly to the enemy. The Persians, throwing aside their bows, prepared to receive them. The engagement

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This passage has perplexed the commentators. Bellanger understands that the Persians made a rampart of their bucklers, behind which they used their arrows. Larcher approves of this, but it seems attended with many difficulties. Did they approach within a given distance of the enemy, and then pile up their bucklers by way of entrenchment? If so, in case of defeat, they became naked and defenceless; for how in the tumult of action, and the terror of a victorious foe, could they undo their entrenchment, and each recover his buckler. In Homer we find, that Teucer shot his arrows under the protection of the shield of Ajax; and though I am hardly warranted to make the assertion, it by no means seems improbable, that with the archers a body of shield-bearers might be distributed, to enable them to take their aim with more steadiness and certainty.—*T.*

ment commenced before the barricade[57]: when this was thrown down, a conflict took place near the temple of Ceres, which was continued with unremitted obstinacy till the fortune of the day was decided. The Barbarians, seizing their adversaries lances, broke them in pieces, and discovered no inferiority either in strength or courage; but their armour was inefficient, their attack without skill, and their inferiority, with respect to discipline, conspicuous. In whatever manner they rushed upon the enemy, from one to ten at a time, they were cut in pieces by the Spartans.

LXIII. The Greeks were most severely pressed where Mardonius himself, on a white horse[58], at the head of a thousand chosen Persians, directed his attack. As long as he lived, the Persians, both in their attack and defence, conducted themselves

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[57] *Barricade.*]—The former difficulty here recurs; the Greek is περὶ τὰ γερρα, and the γερρα are explained to be the Persian shields. But whilst the Greeks were endeavouring to overturn this, were the Persians fighting without shields?—*T.*

[58] *White horse.*]—

> But fiercest was the contest where sublime
> The son of Gobryas from a snow-white steed
> Shot terror.—There selected warriors charged;
> A thousand veterans, by their father's trained,
> Who shar'd renown with Cyrus. *Athenaid.*

selves well, and slew great numbers of the Spartans; but as soon as Mardonius was slain, and the band which fought near his person, and which was the flower of the army, was destroyed, all the rest turned their backs and fled. They were much oppressed and encumbered by their long dresses, besides which, being lightly armed, they had to oppose men in full and complete armour.

LXIV. On this day, as the oracle had before predicted, the death of Leonidas was amply revenged upon Mardonius, and the most glorious victory[59] which has ever been recorded, was then obtained by Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, and grandson of Anaxandrides. The other ancestors, which

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[59] *Glorious victory.*]—It was principally, says the author of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, to the victories which the Athenians obtained over the Persians, that they owed the ruin of their ancient constitution. After the battle of Platæa, it was ordered that the citizens of the lower classes, who had been excluded by Solon from the principal magistracies, should from that time have the privilege of obtaining them. The wise Aristides, who prevented this decree, afforded a calamitous example to those who succeeded him in command; they were first compelled to flatter the multitude, and finally to bow before it. Formerly they disdained to attend the general assemblies; but as soon as government had ordained, that a gratification of three oboli should be given to whoever assisted at them, they rushed there in crowds, driving away the affluent by their presence and their fury, and insolently substituting their caprices for laws.—*T.*

which he had in common with Leonidas, I have before mentioned. Mardonius was slain by Aimnestus, a Spartan of distinguished reputation, who, long after this Persian war, with three hundred men, was killed in an engagement at Stenyclerus *, in which he opposed the united force of the Messenians.

LXV. The Persians, routed by the Spartans at Platæa, fled in the greatest confusion towards their camp, and to the wooden entrenchment which they had constructed in the Theban territories. It seems to me somewhat surprising, that although the battle was fought near the grove of Ceres, not a single Persian took refuge in the temple, nor was slain near it; but the greater part of them perished beyond the limits of the sacred ground. If it may be allowed to form any conjecture on divine subjects, I should think that the goddess interfered to prevent their entrance, because on a former occasion they had burned her temple at Eleusis. Such was the issue of the battle of Platæa.

LXVI. Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who had from the first disapproved of the king's leaving

* Larcher thinks that this ought to be written Stenyclarus; but it is Stenyclerus also in Pausanias. Larcher, however, has the authority of Strabo.

ing Mardonius behind him, and who had warmly, though unsuccessfully, endeavoured to prevent a battle, determined on the following measures. He was at the head of no small body of troops; they amounted to forty thousand men: being much averse to the conduct of Mardonius, and foreseeing what the event of an engagement must be, he prepared and commanded his men to follow him wherever he should go, and to remit or increase their speed by his example. He then drew out his army, as if to attack the enemy; but he soon met the Persians flying from them: he then immediately and precipitately fled with all his troops in disorder, not directing his course to the entrenchment or to Thebes, but towards Phocis, intending to gain the Hellespont with all possible speed.—In this manner did these troops conduct themselves.

LXVII. Of those Greeks who were in the royal army, all except the Bœotians, from a preconcerted design, behaved themselves ill. The Bœotians fought the Athenians with obstinate resolution: those Thebans who were attached to the Medes made very considerable exertions, fighting with such courage, that three hundred of their first and boldest citizens fell by the swords of the Athenians. They fled at length, and pursued their way to Thebes, avoiding the route which the Persians had taken with the im-

mense multitude of confederates, who, so far from making any exertions, had never struck a blow.

LXVIII. To me it appears, that the conduct of the Barbarians in general, was decided by that of the Persians. Before they had at all engaged with the enemy, they took themselves to flight, seeing the Persians do so. The whole army, however, fled in confusion, except the horse, and those of the Bœotians in particular, who were of essential service in covering the retreat, being constantly at hand to defend their flying friends from the Greeks, who continued the pursuit with great slaughter.

LXIX. In the midst of all this tumult, intelligence was conveyed to those Greeks posted near the temple of Juno, and remote from the battle, that the event was decided, and Pausanias victorious. The Corinthians instantly, without any regularity, hurried over the hills which lay at the foot of the mountain, to arrive at the temple of Ceres. The Megarians and Phliasians, with the same intentions, posted over the plain, the more direct and obvious road. As they approached the enemy, they were observed by the Theban horse, commanded by Asopodorus, son of Timander, who, taking advantage of their want of order, rushed upon them and slew six hundred,

hundred, driving the rest towards mount Cithæron. Thus did these perish ingloriously.

LXX. The Persians, and a promiscuous multitude along with them, as soon as they arrived at the entrenchment, endeavoured to climb the turrets, before the Lacedæmonians should come up with them. Having effected this, they endeavoured to defend themselves as well as they could. The Lacedæmonians soon arrived, and a severe engagement commenced at the entrenchment. Before the Athenians came up, the Persians not only defended themselves well, but had the advantage, as the Lacedæmonians were ignorant of the proper method of attack; but as soon as the Athenians advanced to their support, the battle was renewed with greater fierceness, and was long continued. The valour and firmness of the Athenians finally prevailed. Having made a breach they rushed into the camp: the Tegeatæ were the first Greeks that entered, and were they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from thence, among other things, the manger[61] from which his horses were fed, made entirely of brass, and very curious. This was afterwards deposited by the Tegeatæ in the temple of the Alean

[61] *Manger.*]—One of the later Roman emperors, I believe it was Caracalla, fed a favorite horse from a manger of solid gold.—*T.*

Alean Minerva: the rest of the booty * was carried to the spot where the common plunder was collected. As soon as their entrenchment was thrown down, the Barbarians dispersed themselves different ways, without exhibiting any proof of their former bravery; they were, indeed, in a state of stupefaction and terror, from seeing their immense multitude overpowered in so short a period. So great was the slaughter made by the Greeks, that of this army, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, not three thousand escaped, if we except the forty thousand who fled with Artabazus. The Lacedæmonians of Sparta lost ninety-one men; the Tegeatæ sixteen; the Athenians fifty-two [62].

LXXI. Of those who most distinguished themselves on the part of the Barbarians, are to be reckoned the Persian infantry, the Sacian cavalry, and lastly, Mardonius himself. Of the Greeks, the

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* The chair, or stool, on which Mardonius sate, the feet of which were of solid silver, together with his scimitar, worth three hundred darics, almost equal to three hundred guineas, fell to the Athenians, who deposited them in their citadel, as a monument of this victory. See Demosthenes contra Timocratem.

[62] *Fifty-two.*]—The Greeks, according to Plutarch, lost in all 1,360 men: all those who were slain of the Athenians were of one particular tribe. Plutarch is much incensed at Herodotus for his account of this battle; but the authority of our historian seems entitled to most credit.—*T.*

the Tegeatæ and Athenians were eminently conspicuous; they were, nevertheless, inferior to the Lacedæmonians. The proof of this with me is, that though the former conquered those to whom they were opposed, the latter vanquished the pride and strength of the Barbarian army. The most daring of the Spartans, in my opinion, was Aristodemus; the same who alone returning from Thermopylæ fell into disgrace and infamy; next to him, Posidonius, Phylocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan, behaved the best. Nevertheless, when it was disputed in conversation what individual had on that day most distinguished himself, the Spartans who were present said, that Aristodemus, being anxious to die conspicuously, as an expiation of his former crime, in an emotion of fury had burst from his rank, and performed extraordinary exploits; but that Posidonius had no desire to lose his life, and therefore his behaviour was the more glorious: but this remark might have proceeded from envy. All those of whom I have spoken, as slain on this day, were highly honoured, except Aristodemus. To him, for the reason above mentioned, no respect was paid, as having voluntarily sought death.

LXXII. The above were those who gained the greatest reputation in the battle of Platæa. Callicrates, the handsomest man, not only of all the Lacedæmonians,

Lacedæmonians, but of all the Greeks, was not slain in actual engagement: whilst Pausanias was sacrificing, he was sitting in his rank, and received a wound in his side from an arrow. In the heat of the conflict he was carried off, lamenting to Aimnestus, a man of Platæa, not that he perished for his country, but that he died without any personal exertions, or without performing any deed of valour worthy of himself, and his desire of renown.

LXXIII. The most eminent on this occasion of the Athenians is said to have been Sophanes, the son of Eutychides, of the Decelean tribe. The Deceleans, at some former period, according to the Athenians, performed what proved for ever of the greatest advantage to them. The Tyndaridæ had, with a numerous force, invaded Attica, to recover Helen[63], and had driven away all the natives, without being able to discover where

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[63] *Helen.*]—Helen, as every body knows, was the daughter of Tyndarus, and the sister of Castor and Pollux: she was carried off by Theseus, when, according to Hellanicus, he was fifty years old. She was not then marriageable, probably not more than ten. This event consequently happened many years before Menelaus married her, and Paris carried her away. The Greeks were ten years assembling forces for the siege, which continued ten years. "This is the twentieth year of my arrival at Troy," says Helen, in the Iliad, at which time she must have been in her thirty-sixth year.—*Larcher.*

where Helen was. On this emergence, the Deceleans are reported, and, as some say, Decelus himself, to have discovered what was required, and to have conducted the invaders to Aphidnæ, which Titacus[64], a native of the place, delivered into his hands. To this measure they were induced, partly from a sense of the infamy which was occasioned by the crime of Theseus, and partly from the fear that the whole territories of Attica would be ravaged. On account of this action, an immunity from taxes in Sparta, which has continued to the present period, was granted to the Deceleans, as well as a place of honour in the public assemblies. In the war which many years afterwards[65] took place between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, the Lacedæmonians laying waste the rest of Attica, spared Decelea alone.

LXXIV. Of this people was Sophanes, who so greatly distinguished himself among the Athenians,

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[64] *Titacus.*]—There was a town in Attica called Titacidæ, doubtless so called from this Titacus.—*Larcher.*

It is not mentioned by Spon, in his book de Pagis Atticis. —*T.*

[65] *Many years afterwards.*]—The battle of Platæa took place in the second year of the 75th Olympiad; the Peloponnesian war commenced in the spring of the first year of the 87th Olympiad, that is, near forty-eight years after the battle of Platæa.—*Larcher.*

nians, though the particulars of his conduct are differently represented. He is reported by some to have carried before him an anchor of iron, secured by a leathern thong to his breastplate; this, when the enemy approached, he threw on the ground, least their rushing upon him might remove him from his rank: when the enemy fled he took up his anchor, and pursued them. Another report says, that he did not carry a real anchor, but merely the impression of one upon his shield, which he continually moved about.

LXXV. Another noble action is told of this Sophanes: when the Athenians besieged Ægina, he challenged, and killed in single combat, Eurybates [66] of Argos, who had conquered in the Pentathlon. Sometime after this battle of Platæa, whilst exerting himself with great bravery as leader of the Athenians, in conjunction with Leagrus, the son of Glaucon, he lost his life: he was slain by the Edonians at Datus [67], in a contest about some gold mines.

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[66] *Eurybates.*]—He was conqueror in the Nemean games; and Pausanias relates the particular manner in which he was slain. See our author, book vi. chap. 92. This Eurybates must not be confounded with the Eurybates who betrayed Crœsus, and whose name became proverbial for a traitor. The latter was of Ephesus, the former of Argos.—*Larcher.*

[67] *Datus.*]—Upon this place Meursius, in his Lectiones Atticæ, employs a whole chapter, correcting errors concerning

LXXVI. After this victory of the Greeks over the Barbarians at Platæa, a woman hearing of the event, came to the Greeks as a suppliant. She was the concubine of Pharandates[68], a Persian, the son of Teaspes; both she and her female attendants were suberbly dressed in habits of the richest embroidery. Descending from her carriage, she approached the Lacedæmonians, who were still engaged in slaughter, and addressing herself to Pausanias, who she saw commanded, and whose name and country she had before known: "Prince of Sparta," said she, embracing his knees[69], "be my deliverer from ser-
"vitude;

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ing it committed by Stephanus and Hesychius. Stephanus the geographer places it in Thrace, Ptolemy in Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace; Eustathius on Dionysius agrees with Ptolemy, placing Datus on the banks of the Strymon, a river of Macedonia.—*T.*

[68] *Pharandates.*]—This man commanded the Mares and Colchians. See book vii. c. 79.

[69] *Embracing his knees.*]—This was a common, and indeed very natural act of extreme humility, and earnest supplication: innumerable instances occur of its being practised in ancient writers, and in Homer particularly. Priam, when he goes to beg of Achilles the body of Hector, throws himself at his feet, and embraces his knees:

Unseen by these the king his entry made,
And prostrate now before Achilles laid;
Sudden (a venerable sight) appears,
Embrac'd his knees, and bath'd his hands in tears;
Those direful hands his kisses press'd, embru'd
E'en with the best, the dearest of his blood.

These

" vitude; you have already merited my gra-
" titude, by exterminating those who revered
" neither gods nor demons. I am a Coan by
" birth, daughter of Hegetoridas, grand-daughter
" of Antagoras; the Persian carried me off
" violently from Cos, and detained me with him."
" Be under no alarm," answered Pausanias,
" both because you are a suppliant[70], and be-
" cause, if what you say be true, you are the
" daughter of Hegetoridas of Cos, to whom, of
" all his countrymen, I am most bound by the
" ties of hospitality." He then recommended her to the care of the Ephori, who were present, and finally, at her request, removed her to Ægina.

LXXVII. After the departure of this woman, and when the battle was finally decided, the Mantineans arrived. They considered their not coming in time for the engagement a serious calamity, and an incident for which they ought to undergo a voluntary

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These six lines are expressed with much greater pathos and beauty by Homer in three.—*T.*

The Abbé Gedoyn, in his French translation of Pausanias, says, that Pausanias found this woman in the tent of Pharandates.—Pausanias says no such thing, and the narrative of Herodotus contradicts him altogether.

[70] *Suppliant.*]—See the Odyssey, book vii. 216.—Pope's Translation:

> To raise a lowly suppliant from the ground
> Befits a monarch.

a voluntary punishment. Having learned that the Medes, under Artabazus [71], had taken themselves to flight, they determined to pursue them as far as Thessaly, from which they were with some difficulty dissuaded by the Lacedæmonians: afterwards, on their return home, they sent their leaders into banishment. The Eleans arrived after the Mantineans, and expressing the same regret, they also returned, and banished their commanders. Such was the conduct of these two people.

LXXVIII. Among the troops of the Æginetæ, assembled at Platæa, was Lampon [72], one of their principal citizens, and son of Pitheas. This man went to Pausanias, giving him the following most impious counsel: "Son of Cleombrotus, what "you have done is beyond comparison splen-"did, and deserving admiration. The deity, in "making

[71] *Artabazus.*]—He commanded the Parthians and Chorasmians, consisting of forty thousand men. See book vii. chap. 66. And is the same person, the son of Pharnaces, who retreated with the forty thousand Persians after the battle of Platæa. Herodotus calls the troops of Artabazus Medes, which was the name given to the Persians and to all that served under them.

[72] *Lampon.*]—This Lampon was of a family illustrious no less for the prizes they obtained at the Isthmean and Nemean games, than for their noble origin. He was the son of Pytheas, to whom the 5th Nemean Ode of Pindar was addressed; which see.

" making you the instrument of Greece's free-
" dom, has placed you far above all your pre-
" decessors in glory: in concluding this business,
" so conduct yourself, that your reputation may
" be still encreased, and that no Barbarian may
" ever again attempt to perpetrate atrocious
" actions against Greece. When Leonidas was
" slain at Thermopylæ, Mardonius and Xerxes
" cut off his head, and suspended his body from
" a cross. Do the same with respect to Mar-
" donius, and you will deserve the applause of
" Sparta and of Greece, and avenge the cause
" of your uncle Leonidas." Thus spake Lampon, thinking he should please Pausanias.

LXXIX. " Friend of Ægina," replied Pausanias, " I thank you for your good intentions,
" and commend your foresight; but what you
" say violates every principle of equity[73]. After
" elevating me, my country, and this recent
" victory, to the summit of fame, you again
" depress us to infamy, in recommending me to
" inflict vengeance on the dead[74]. You say,
" indeed,

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[73] *Of equity.*]—Pausanias altered materially afterwards. He aspired to the supreme power, became magnificent and luxurious, fierce and vindictive. See Thucydides, l. i. c. 128, 29, 30, &c.—*Larcher.*

[74] *On the dead.*]—This sentiment is frequently expressed by ancient and modern authors. Homer says,

T' insult the dead is cruel and unjust.

Dr.

" indeed, that by such an action I shall exalt
" my character; but I think it is more consistent
" with the conduct of Barbarians than of Greeks,
" as it is one of those things for which we re-
" proach them. I must therefore dissent from
" the Æginetæ, and all those who approve their
" sentiments. For me, it is sufficient to merit
" the esteem of Sparta, by attending to the rules
" of honour, both in my words and actions:
" Leonidas, whom you wish me to avenge, has,
" I think, received the amplest vengeance. The
" deaths of this immense multitude must suffi-
" ciently have atoned for him, and for those who
" fell with him at Thermopylæ. I would advise
" you in future, having these sentiments, to
" avoid my presence; and I would have you
" think it a favour, that I do not punish you."

Dr. Young, in his play of the Revenge, makes Zanga say,

—— I war not with the dead.

And in the Complaint, night iii. 190,

What guilt
Can equal violations of the dead;
The dead how sacred; sacred is the dust
Of this heav'n labour'd form.

But perhaps the most forcible and elegant sentiments on this subject may be found in the Antigone of Sophocles; where Antigone, in defiance of the edicts of Creon, at the peril of her own life, buries the dead body of her brother Polynices.

LXXX. Pausanias afterwards proclaimed by a herald, that no person should touch any of the booty; and he ordered the helots to collect the money into one place. They, as they dispersed [75] themselves over the camp, found tents decorated with gold and silver, couches of the same, goblets, cups, and drinking vessels of gold, besides sacks of gold, and silver cauldrons placed on carriages. The dead bodies they stripped of bracelets, chains, and scimitars of gold; to their habits of various colours they paid no attention. Many things of value the helots secreted, and sold to the Æginetæ; others, unable to conceal, they were obliged to produce. The Æginetæ from this became exceedingly rich; for they purchased gold of the helots at the price of brass *.

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[75] *As they dispersed.*]—This circumstance and behaviour of the helots necessarily reminds us of the four leprous men, 2 Kings, chap. vii. ver. 8.

"And when these lepers came to the uttermost part of the camp, they went into one tent, and did eat and drink, and carried thence silver and gold and raiment, and went and hid it; and came again, and entered into another tent, and carried thence also, and went and hid it."

The plunder of the Syrian camp by the king of Israel resembles in many other particulars what is here described of the Persian camp by Herodotus. See on the events related in this chapter, Diodorus Sic. l. ii. c. 26; Plutarch's Life of Aristides; Thucyd. l. iii. c. 114; Ælian V. History, vol. ii. p. 680, where we are told that the Æginetæ were the first coiners of money.—*T.*

* Many similar anecdotes are on record, and such things may

LXXXI. From the wealth thus collected, a tenth * part was selected for sacred purposes. To the deity of Delphi was presented a golden tripod [76], resting on a three-headed snake of brass: it was placed near the altar. To the Olympian god they erected a Jupiter, ten cubits high [77]: to the god of the isthmus, the figure of Neptune, in brass, seven cubits high. When this was done, the remainder of the plunder was divided

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may naturally happen. Soldiers sell on such occasions their plunder for what they can get. After the battle of Granson, obtained by the Swiss over the Duke of Burgundy, a diamond belonging to that prince, and known as one of the finest in Europe, sold for a florin.

See Memoires de Comines, l. v. c. 2.

* The custom of appropriating for sacred purposes a tenth of the spoil taken in war is of the very remotest antiquity.—See Suidas at the word δεκατευσιν, where we are informed that δεκατευδαι properly means to consecrate.

[76] *Tripod.*]—On the subject of ancient tripods, see Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 85. What Herodotus here says is confirmed by Pausanias, in Phoc. book, p. 633.—*T.*

This three-headed snake of brass reminds us of the figure in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, described by Spon and Wheler, Tournefort and Pococke.—See Pococke in particular, vol. ii. p. 131.

" The serpentine pillar in the Hippodrome is thought to be a very great piece of antiquity, being said to be the twisted serpents on which there stood a tripod, supposed to be that which Pausanias and the cities of Greece consecrated to Apollo at Delphi."

[77] *Jupiter.*]—See Pausanias, Elis. c. xxiii.

" Near the senate house is a Jupiter without an inscription, and another, which was dedicated by those who fought

divided among the army, according to their merits; it consisted of Persian concubines, gold, silver, beasts of burden, with various riches. What choice things were given to those who most distinguished themselves at Platæa [78], has never been mentioned, though certain presents, I believe, were made them. It is certain, that a tenth part of the whole was given to Pausanias, consisting among other things of women, horses, talents, and camels.

LXXXII. It is farther recorded, that when Xerxes fled from Greece, he left all his equipage to

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against Mardonius at Platæa: the names of the states, whose subjects were in that action, being inscribed upon the base of the figure, which was made by Anaxagoras of Ægina. The Lacedæmonians are the first, the Athenians next, then the Corinthians, fourthly the Sicyonians, then the Æginetæ, &c.—*Larcher.*

[78] *At Platæa.*]—That sagacious and entertaining traveller, Mr. Cox, relates in his vol. i. of Switzerland, that the people of Glaris, to the amount only of three hundred and fifty, assisted by thirty Switzers, not only repulsed, but vanquished, with a prodigious slaughter, an army of fifteen thousand Austrians. "This surprising victory," says he, "gained by a handful of men, against an enemy so superior in number (instances of which are by no means rare in the history of Switzerland) render the wonderful combats of Marathon and Platæa perfectly credible."—*T.*

This battle took place on the fourth of the month Boëdromion, which corresponds with our September.

The reader will do well to compare the account of this battle as given by Herodotus with that of Plutarch.

to Mardonius: Pausanias seeing this composed of gold, silver, and cloth of the richest embroidery, gave orders to the cooks and domestics to prepare an entertainment for him, as for Mardonius. His commands were executed, and he beheld couches of gold and silver, tables of the same, and every thing that was splendid and magnificent. Astonished at the spectacle, he again with a smile directed his servants to prepare a Lacedæmonian repast. When this was ready the contrast was so striking, that he laughing sent for the Grecian leaders: when they were assembled, he shewed them the two entertainments; "Men of Greece," said he, "I have called you "together to bear testimony to the king of Per-"sia's folly, who forsook all this luxury to "plunder us who live in so much poverty[79]." These were the words which Pausanias is said to have used to the Grecian leaders.

LXXXIII. In succeeding times, many of the Platæans found on the field of battle, chests of gold, silver, and other riches. This thing also happened: when the flesh had fallen from the bones of the dead bodies, the Platæans, in removing

[79] *Poverty.*]—If this remark were made with truth with respect to the Greeks, how much more pertinent does it appear, comparing the Scythians with the Persians, against whom Darius unsuccessfully led a numerous army.—*T.*

removing them to some other spot, discovered a scull as one entire bone, without any suture[30]. Two jaw bones also were found with their teeth, which though divided were of one entire bone[31], the grinders as well as the rest. The bones of a man also were seen, five cubits high.

LXXXIV. The body of Mardonius was removed the day after the battle; but it is not known by whom. I have heard the interment of Mardonius ascribed to various people of different nations; and I know that many persons received on this account liberal presents from Artontas, his son; but who it actually was that privately removed and buried the body of Mardonius, I have never been able to ascertain. It has sometimes been imputed to Dionysiophanes, a native of Ephesus.

LXXXV. The Greeks, after the division of the plunder at Platæa, proceeded to inter their dead,

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[30] *Without any suture.*]—Father Hardouin, in a note on a passage of Pliny, observes, that Albert, Marquis of Brandebourgh, surnamed the German Achilles, had a scull without a suture.—*Larcher.*

Natural historians have remarked this peculiarity in the sculls of many persons. It has also been affirmed of the celebrated cardinal Ximenes.—*T.*

[31] *Entire bone.*]—Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had his teeth of one entire bone, though distinct from each other. It has been related also of many.—*Larcher.*

dead, each nation by themselves [82]. The Lacedæmonians [83] sunk three trenches: in the one they deposited the bodies of their priests [84], among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates; in the second were interred the other Spartans; in the third, the helots. The Tegeatæ were buried by themselves, but with no distinction: the Athenians in like manner, and also the Megarians and Phliasians who were slain by the cavalry. Mounds of earth were raised over the bodies of all these people. With respect to the others shewn at Platæa, I am told they were raised by those, who being ashamed of their absence from the battle, wished to secure the esteem of posterity. There is here a monument said to be that of the Æginetæ; but this I have

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[82] *By themselves.*]—The Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an appropriate burial; the other Greeks were interred promiscuously.—*Larcher.*

[83] *The Lacedæmonians.*]—We learn from Plutarch, that it was not unusual to separate the commanders from the common men.—See *Montfaucon*, vol. v. 14, 15, &c.—*T.*

[84] *Their priests.*]—For τους ιρεας, Valcnaer thinks we may read τους ιππεας, the knights of whom we learn, l. viii. c. 124. These were three hundred.—*T.*

The proposed change of ιρεας into ιππεας, observes a learned friend, would be too undruidical for Dr. Stukely, who appropriated so many barrows on Salisbury plain, &c. to the priests. If such a number of priests is inadmissible among the Spartans, may we not with Pauw for ιρεας substitute ειρενας, who were young officers, as we learn from Plutarch.—See his *Life of Lycurgus.*

have been informed was raised ten years after the battle, by Cleades of Platæa, the son of Autodicus, at the particular request of the Æginetæ, to whom he was bound by the ties of hospitality.

LXXXVI. Having buried their dead on the plain of Platæa, the Greeks, after serious deliberation, resolved to attack Thebes, and demand the persons of those who had taken part with the Medes. Of these the most distinguished were Timegenides and Attaginus, the leaders of the faction. They determined, unless these were given up, not to leave Thebes without utterly destroying it. On the eleventh day after the battle, they besieged the Thebans, demanding the men whom we have named. They refused to surrender them: in consequence of which, their lands were laid waste, and their walls attacked.

LXXXVII. This violence being continued, Timegenides, on the twentieth day, thus addressed the Thebans: "Men of Thebes[85], since "the

[85] *Men of Thebes.*]—The gallant behaviour of Timegenides on this occasion will remind the English reader of the siege of Calais by Edward the Third, when Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, behaved precisely in a similar manner. He declared himself willing to suffer death for the safety of his friends and fellow-citizens. The entreaties

" the Greeks are resolved not to retire from " Thebes till they shall either have destroyed it, " or you shall deliver us into their power, let not " Bœotia on our account be farther distressed. " If their demand of our persons be merely a " pretence to obtain money, let us satisfy them " from the wealth of the public, as not we alone " but all of us have been equally and openly " active on the part of the Medes; if their real " object in besieging Thebes, is to obtain our " persons, we are ready to go ourselves, and " confer with them." The Thebans approving his advice, sent immediately a herald to Pausanias, saying they were ready to deliver up the men.

LXXXVIII. As soon as this measure was determined, Attaginus fled, but his children were delivered to Pausanias, who immediately dismissed * them, urging that infants could not possibly

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treaties of Philippa, Henry's queen, induced the English monarch to behave with more magnanimity than we find Pausanias did. The citizens of Calais saved their lives, received magnificent presents, and were dismissed in safety. —See the story admirably told by Hume, vol. ii. p. 442.

* Ferret ne civitas ulla latorem istiusmodi legis ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset.

See Deuteronomy, c. xxiv. v. 16.—" The fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor the children for their fathers."

See

possibly have any part in the faction of the Medes. The other Thebans who were given up, imagined they should have the liberty of pleading for themselves, and by the means of money hoped to escape. Pausanias suspecting that such a thing might happen, as soon as he got them in his power, dismissed all the forces of the allies; then removing the Thebans to Corinth, he there put them to death.

LXXXIX. These things were done at Platæa and at Thebes. Artabazus son of Pharnaces fled from Platæa to the Thessalians. They received him with great hospitality, and entirely ignorant of what had happened, enquired after the remainder of the army. The Persian was fearful that if he disclosed the whole truth, he might draw upon him the attack of all who knew it, and consequently involve himself and army in the extremest danger. This reflection had before prevented his communication of the matter to the Phœceans: and on the present occasion he thus addressed the Thessalians: "I am hastening, as "you perceive, with great expedition to Thrace, "being dispatched thither from our camp with "this detachment, on some important business. "Mardonius

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See also Ezekiel, c. xviii. v. 20.—"The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."

" Mardonius with his troops follows me at no " great distance : shew him the rites of hospitality " and every suitable attention. You will finally " have no occasion to repent of your kindness." He then proceeded through Thessaly and Macedonia, immediately to Thrace, with evident marks of being in haste. Directing his march through the midst of the country, he arrived at Byzantium, with the loss of great numbers of his men, who were either cut in pieces by the Thracians, or quite worn out by fatigue and hunger. From Byzantium, he passed over his army in transports, and thus effected his return to Asia.

XC. On the very day of the battle of Platæa, a victory was gained at Mycale in Ionia. Whilst the Grecian fleet was yet at Delos, under the command of Leutychides the Lacedæmonian, ambassadors came to them from Samos. These were Lampon the son of Thrasyales, Athenagoras son of Archestratidas, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras, who were employed on this occasion without the knowledge of the Persians or of Theomestor[86], son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made prince of Samos. On their arrival,

[86] *Theomestor.*]—It may be seen book viii. ch. 85, what it was that induced the Persians to give this man the government of Samos.—*Larcher.*

arrival, they sought the Grecian leaders, whom Hegesistratus addressed with various arguments. He urged, that as soon as they should shew themselves, all the Ionians would shake off their dependence, and revolt from the Persians; he told them that they might wait in vain for the prospect of a richer booty. He implored also their common deities, that being Greeks, they would deliver those who also were Greeks from servitude, and avenge them on the Barbarian. He concluded by saying, that this might be easily accomplished, as the ships of the enemy were slow sailers, and by no means equal to those of the Greeks. He added, that if they had any suspicions of treachery, they were ready to go on board their vessels, and there remain as hostages.

XCI. Whilst the Samian continued his importunities, Leutychides, either for the sake of some omen, or by accident, Providence so ordering it, asked him his name. He replied, "Hegesistratus." If he had intended saying any more, Leutychides prevented him, by exclaiming, "My Samian friend, I accept the omen of "your name, you may therefore return, after "promising us on behalf of yourself and your "companions, that the Samians will prove themselves zealous allies."

XCII. Saying this, he proceeded to execute what

what was proposed. The Samians, with an oath, engaged to become the confederates of the Greeks. Leutychides then dismissed them all excepting Hegesistratus, who on account of his name[87], he chose to take along with him. The Greeks, after remaining that day on their station, on the next sacrificed with favourable omens; Deiphonus, son of Evenius of Apollonia, in the Ionian gulph, being their minister.

XCIII. To this Evenius the following thing happened. There are in Apollonia, sheep sacred to the sun, which by day are fed on the banks of the river, that, flowing from mount Lacmon, passes through Apollonia, and empties itself into the sea, near the harbour of Oricum. By night they are kept by men, one of whom is every year chosen from the noblest and wealthiest of his fellow-citizens. To these sheep, on account

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[87] *On account of his name.*]—The ancients paid great attention, Greeks as well as Romans, to the presages to be drawn from names. When Augustus was proceeding to the battle of Actium, he met a man driving an ass: the man's name was Eutychus, which means fortunate, the name of the ass was Nicon, which signifies victory. He accepted this as a favourable omen, and after his conquest of Antony, he constructed a temple, in which he placed figures of the ass and its master.—Many similar examples are to be found. —*T.*

In the present example, Hegesistratus signifies the general of an army.

count of some oracle, the people of Apollonia pay the greatest reverence, and they are every night secured in a cave at some distance from the city. Evenius being once elected to this office, was so remiss as to fall asleep, when some wolves entered, and destroyed nearly sixty of his sheep. On discovering the accident, he made no person acquainted with what had happened, intending to buy an equal number to substitute in their room. It could not however be concealed from the people of Apollonia, who, bringing Evenius to trial, condemned him to lose his eyes for sleeping on his duty. After they had inflicted this punishment upon him, their cattle ceased to bring forth, and their lands to be fruitful. This had been before predicted by the oracles of Dodona and Delphi. The prophets being interrogated concerning the occasion of the present calamity, replied, " That it was because they had unjustly " deprived of his sight, Evenius, the keeper of " the sacred sheep." They were the persons they said who had sent the wolves; nor would they cease their vengeance till Evenius should be satisfied in whatever manner he desired. They added, that they themselves would afterwards make him such a present, as would induce most men to think him happy.

XCIV. This reply was made by the oracles to the people of Apollonia. They, concealing this,

commissioned some of their citizens to compound the business. The method they took was this: they visited Evenius in his house, and seating themselves by him, talked of indifferent matters, till they at length began to pity his misfortune. When this was introduced, they asked him what compensation would satisfy him, if the Apolloniatæ would engage to make it? As he knew nothing of the oracle, he expressed his wish to have the lands of two citizens, whom he specified, which he believed to be the best in the country; to this he added the most splendid house in the city. If he had but these, he said, he should be perfectly content, and no longer feel any resentment. When Evenius had made this reply, his visitors interrupted him; "Accept," said they, "what you require, and what in compliance with the oracle, your countrymen are "disposed to give you as an atonement for depriving you of sight." Evenius, on hearing the matter explained, was greatly incensed at the deception. The farms which he had wished for were purchased of their owners, and given him. He had afterwards the power of divination, whence he became famous.

XCV. Deiphonus was the son of this Evenius, whom the Corinthians had brought with them as soothsayer to the army. I have been informed

that Deiphonus performed this office in Greece, availing himself of the name of Evenius, whose son he really was not.

XCVI. The Greeks having sacrificed favourably, set sail from Delos towards Samos. On their arrival at Calami [88] of Samos, they drew themselves up near the temple of Juno, and prepared for a naval engagement. When the Persians heard of their approach, they moved with the residue of their fleet towards the continent, having previously permitted the Phœnicians to retire. They had determined, after a consultation, not to risk an engagement, as they did not think themselves a match for their opponents. They therefore made towards the continent, that they might be covered by their land forces at Mycale, to whom Xerxes had intrusted the defence of Ionia. These, to the amount of sixty thousand,

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[88] *Calami.*]—Larcher in his Memoire sur Venus, p. 146, says, there was a temple at Samos erected to Venus, in a place full of reeds, which occasioned the goddess to be called Venus among the reeds, ην οι μεν εν καλαμοις καλεσιν. This, says the learned Frenchman, is a valuable piece of intelligence, for we learn that there was a place in Samos called Καλαμοι, Calami, which explains this passage in Herodotus, concerning which the two last Editors have not said a syllable; neither has any geographer or author spoken of this place; but it is evident from Athenæus, l. xiii. c. 4, that it ought to be read προς Καλαμοισι.—*T.*

thousand, were under the command of Tigranes the Persian, one of the handsomest and tallest of his countrymen. To these troops the commanders of the fleet resolved to retire: it was also their intention to draw their vessels on shore, and to throw up an intrenchment round them, which might equally serve as a protection to their vessels and themselves.

XCVII. After the above resolution, they proceeded on their course, and were carried near the temple of the Eumenidæ at Mycale, contiguous to Gæson and Scolopeës. In this place is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, built by Philistus, son of Pasicles, who accompanied Neleus the son of Codrus* when he founded Miletus. Here the Persians drew their ships to land, defending them with an intrenchment formed of stones, branches of fruit trees cut down upon the spot, and pieces of timber closely fitted together. In this position they were ready to sustain a blockade, and with hopes of victory, being prepared for either event.

* Concerning this Codrus, see book i. c. 147, and Pausanias, l. x. c. 10. He was the last king of Athens, and after the battle of Marathon, a statue was erected to him, which was deposited at Delphi.—It was said to have been by Phidias.

XCVIII. When the Greeks received intelligence that the Barbarians were retired to the continent, they considered them as escaped out of their hands. They were exceedingly exasperated, and in great perplexity whether they should return or proceed towards the Hellespont. Their ultimate determination was to follow the enemy towards the continent. Getting therefore all things ready for an engagement by sea, and providing themselves with scaling ladders, and such other things as were necessary, they sailed to Mycale. When they approached the enemy's station, they perceived no one advancing to meet them; but beheld the ships drawn on shore, secured within an intrenchment, and a considerable body of infantry ranged along the coast. Leutychides upon this advanced before all the rest in his ship, and coming as near the shore as he could, thus addressed the Ionians by a herald: "Men of "Ionia, all you who hear me, listen to what I "say, for the Persians will understand nothing "of what I tell you. When the engagement "shall commence, remember first of all our "common liberties; in the next place take "notice, our watch-word is Hebe. Let those "who hear me, inform all who do not." The motive of this conduct was the same with that of Themistocles at Artemisium. These expressions, if not intelligible to the Barbarians, might make

the desired impression on the Ionians; or if explained to the former, might render the fidelity of the latter suspected.

XCIX. When Leutychides had done this, the Greeks approached the shore, disembarked, and prepared for battle. The Persians observing this, and knowing the purport of the enemy's address to the Ionians, took their arms from the Samians, suspecting them of a secret attachment to the Greeks. The Samians had purchased the freedom of five hundred Athenians, and sent them back with provisions to their country, who having been left in Attica, had been taken prisoners by the Persians, and brought away in the Barbarian fleet. The circumstance of their thus releasing five hundred of the enemies of Xerxes, made them greatly suspected. To the Milesians, under pretence of their knowledge of the country, the Persians confided the guard of the paths to the heights of Mycale: their real motive was to remove them to a distance. By these steps the Persians endeavoured to guard against those Ionians, who might wish, if they had the opportunity, to effect a revolt. They next heaped their bucklers upon each other, to make a temporary rampart.

C. The Greeks being drawn up, advanced to attack the Barbarians: as they were proceeding, a herald's wand was discovered on the beach, and

a rumour circulated through the ranks, that the Greeks had obtained a victory over the forces of Mardonius and Bœotia. These things which happen [89] by divine interposition, are made known by various means. On the same day that their enemies were slaughtered at Platæa, and were about to be defeated at Mycale, the rumour of the former victory being circulated to this distance, rendered the Greeks more bold, and animated them against every danger.

CI. It appears farther worthy of observation, that both battles took place near the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres. The battle of Platæa, as I have before remarked, was in the vicinity of the temple of Ceres; the one at Mycale was in a similar situation. The report of the victory of the Greeks under Pausanias, came at a very seasonable moment; the engagement at Platæa happening early in the morning, that at Mycale towards evening. It was soon afterwards ascertained, that these incidents occurred on the same day of the same month. Before the arrival of

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[89] *Which happen.*]—It is unnecessary to remark, that the superstition of the writer is in this passage conspicuous. Diodorus Siculus is most sagacious, when he says that Leutychides, and those who were with him, knew nothing of the victory of Platæa; but that they contrived this stratagem to animate their troops. Polyænus relates the same in his Stratagemata.—*Larcher.*

of this rumour at Mycale, the Greeks were in great consternation, not so much on their own account, as from the fear that Greece would not be able to withstand the exertions of Mardonius; but after they had heard this news, they advanced to combat with greater eagerness and courage. The Barbarians testified equal resolution, and both seemed to consider the islands and the Hellespont, as the reward of victory.

CII. The Athenians, who with those that accompanied them, constituted one-half of the army, advanced by the coast, and along the plain: the Lacedæmonians and their auxiliaries, by the more woody and mountainous places. Whilst the Lacedæmonians were making a circuit, the Athenians in the other wing were already engaged. The Persians, as long as their intrenchment remained uninjured, defended themselves well, and without any inferiority; but when the Athenians, with those who supported them, increased their exertions, mutually exhorting one another, that they and not the Lacedæmonians might have the glory of the day, the face of things was changed; the rampart was thrown down, and a sensible advantage was obtained over the Persians. They sustained the shock for a considerable time, but finally gave way, and retreated behind their intrenchments. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, rushed in with them;

for this part of the army was composed of these different nations. When the wall was carried, the Barbarians gave no testimony of their former prowess, but, except the Persians, indiscriminately fled. These last, though few in number, vigorously resisted the Greeks, who poured in upon them in crowds. Artayntes and Ithamitres, the commanders of the fleet, saved themselves by flight: but Mardontes, and Tigranes the general of the land forces, were slain.

CIII. Whilst the Persians still refused to give ground, the Lacedæmonians and their party arrived, and put all who survived to the sword. Upon this occasion many of the Greeks were slain, and among a number of the Sicyonians, Perilaus their leader. The Samians, who were in the Persian army, and from whom their weapons had been taken, no sooner saw victory incline to the side of the Greeks, than they assisted them with all their power. The other Ionians seeing this, revolted also, and turned their arms against the Barbarians.

CIV. The Milesians had been ordered, the better to provide for the safety of the Persians, to guard the paths to the heights, so that in case of accident, the Barbarians, under their guidance, might take refuge on the summits of Mycale; with this view, as well as to remove them to a distance,

distance, and thus guard against their perfidy, the Milesians had been so disposed; but they acted in direct contradiction to their orders. Those who fled, they introduced directly into the midst of their enemies, and finally were active beyond all the rest in putting them to the sword. In this manner did Ionia a second time revolt from the Persian power.

CV. In this battle the Athenians most distinguished themselves, and of them Hermolycus *, the son of Euthynus, a man famous in the Pancratium. This man afterwards was slain in a battle at Cyrnus of Carystus, in the war betwixt the Athenians and Carystians [90], and was buried at Geræstum. Next to the Athenians, they who obtained the greatest reputation were the Corinthians, Trœzenians, and Sicyonians.

CVI. The greater number of the Barbarians being slain, either in the battle or in the pursuit, the Greeks burned their ships, and totally destroyed their wall: the plunder they collected upon the shore, among which was a considerable

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* To this Hermolycus a statue was erected in the citadel of Athens.

[91] *Carystians.*]—The Athenians had war also with the Carystians, in which the rest of Eubœa took no part. It finished by a treaty.—See *Thucydides*, l. i. c. 98.

able quantity of money. Having done this, they sailed from the coast. When they came to Samos, they deliberated on the propriety of removing the Ionians[91] to some other place, wishing to place them in some part of Greece where their authority was secure; but they determined to abandon Ionia to the Barbarians. They were well aware both of the impossibility of defending the Ionians on every emergence, and of the danger which these would incur from the Persians, if they did not. The Peloponnesian magistrates were of opinion, that those nations who had embraced the cause of the Medes should be expelled, and their lands given to the Ionians. The Athenians would not consent that the Ionians should be transported from their country, nor would they allow the Peloponnesians to decide on the destruction of Athenian colonies. Seeing them tenacious of this opinion, the Peloponnesians no longer opposed them. Afterward the people of Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and the other islands

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[91] *Removing the Ionians.*]—Twice, says the Abbé Barthelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, might this people have withdrawn themselves from the dominion of Persia; once by following the counsel of Bias, the other in complying with the will of the Lacedæmonians, who after the Persian war offered to transport them into Greece. They constantly refused to forsake their residence; and if it be permitted to judge from their populousness and wealth, independence was not essential to their happiness.—*T.*

islands who had assisted with their arms in the present exigence, were received into the general confederacy, having by an oath, promised constant and inviolable fidelity. This ceremony performed, they sailed towards the Hellespont, meaning to destroy the bridge, which they expected to find in its original state.

CVII. The Barbarians who saved themselves by flight, came to the heights of Mycale, and thence escaped in no great numbers to Sardis. During the retreat, Masistes son of Darius, who had been present at the late unfortunate engagement, severely reproached Artayntes the commander in chief: among other things, he said, that in the execution of his duty he had behaved more like a woman[92] than a man, and had materially injured the interests of his master. To say that a man is more dastardly than a woman is with the Persians the most infamous of all reproaches. Artayntes, after bearing the insult for some

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[92] *Like a woman.*]—This reproach seems anciently to have been considered as the most contemptuous that could be imagined. Xerxes with this inveighed against his troops at Salamis. See also the speech of Thersites in the second book of the Iliad:

> O women of Achaia, men no more,
> Hence let us fly, and let him waste his store
> In loves and pleasures on the Phrygian shore.

The expression in Greek is Αχαιΐδες ουκ ετ' Αχαιοι.—*T.*

some time, became at length so exasperated, that he drew his scimitar, intending to kill Masistes. He was prevented by Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, a native of Halicarnassus, who happening to be behind Artayntes, seized him by the middle, and threw him to the ground: at the same time the guards of Masistes came up. Xenagoras by this action not only obtained the favour of Masistes, but so much obliged Xerxes, by thus preserving his brother, that he was honoured with the government of all Cilicia. Nothing farther of consequence occurred in their way to Sardis, where they found the king, who after his retreat from Athens, and his ill success at sea, had there resided.

CVIII. Xerxes, during his continuance at Sardis, had attached himself to the wife of Masistes, who happened to be there at the same time. He was unable to obtain his wishes by presents, and out of respect to his brother, he forbore to use violence. The woman, convinced that he would not force her, was restrained by the same consideration. Xerxes, perceiving his other efforts ineffectual, resolved to marry his own son Darius to the daughter of this woman by Masistes, thinking by these means to obtain the more easy accomplishment of his desires. The marriage being solemnized with the accustomed ceremonies, he departed for Susa. On his

his arrival here, his son's wife was received into his palace: the wife of Masistes no longer engaged his attention, but changing the object of his passion, he connected himself with the wife of his son, the daughter of his brother. Her name was Artaynta *.

CIX. This intrigue was afterwards discovered in the following manner. Amestris [93] the wife of Xerxes

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* Maximus Tyrius, in one of the most entertaining of his dissertations, calls this woman erroneously Amestris.

Who inflamed, he says, the passions of the great king; not an Indian beauty, not a beauty of Media, nor of Mardis, nor of Caria, nor of Lydia, &c. &c. but *Amestris*, his daughter-in-law. Dissert. 26. Max. Tyr.

Maximus Tyrius was apt to quote from memory. He makes a similar mistake at the conclusion of this very dissertation, where he misquotes the inscription on the gate of Babylon, placed there by Nitocris. He does the same thing again in his 28th dissertation, where he misquotes the passage about Crœsus. Herodotus, book i. c. 6.

[93] *Amestris.*]—Many learned men, and Scaliger among others, pretend that this princess is the same with queen Esther. A vain similitude of name, the cruelty of Amestris, of which Herodotus gives various examples, the barbarity with which Esther treated the ten children of Haman, and the enemies of the Jews, have given rise to this supposition; but Esther was of a Jewish, Amestris of a Persian family. The father of this last was a satrap, named Onophas, according to Ctesias, and Otanes, according to Herodotus. If any stress were to be laid on a mere name, we might as well affirm that Esther was the same as Atossa, for she was also called Haadassa; but in my opinion, we ought not to conclude that Darius was the same with Ahasuerus.—*Larcher.*

Xerxes presented her husband with a large embroidered and beautiful vest, which she herself had made; Xerxes was much delighted with it, and putting it on, went to visit Artaynta; in an emotion of love, he desired her to ask as a compensation for her favours whatever she wished, promising faithfully to gratify her. To this, impelled by the evil destiny of her whole family, she replied; "And will you really, Sir, grant "me what I shall ask?" Xerxes, never supposing she would require what she did, promised with an oath that he would. The woman confidently demanded his robe. Xerxes at first refused her, fearing that Amestris would thus be convinced of what she had long suspected. Instead of what she solicited, he promised her cities, a prodigious quantity of gold, and the sole command [94] of a large body of troops; which last is among the Persians esteemed a most distinguished honour. Unable to change her purpose, he gave her the robe; delighted with which, she wore it with exultation.

CX. Amestris soon heard of her having it, and thus learning what had happened, was exasperated, not against the young woman herself, but

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[94] *Sole command.*]—Evelthen king of Cyprus was more wise: he gave to Pheretima any thing rather than an army. —See b. iv. 162.—*Larcher.*

but against her mother, whom alone she considered as criminal, and the cause of the mischief: she accordingly determined on her destruction. Waiting therefore for the solemnity of the royal festival, which is held once in every year, on the birth-day of the king, she took this opportunity of requesting Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes. This festival is called in the Persian tongue Tycta, in the Greek Teleion, or Perfect, upon which the king alone decorates his head, and makes presents to the Persians. Xerxes however thought the giving away the person of his brother's wife, both cruel and detestable. He was satisfied that she was innocent of the crime imputed to her, and he could not be ignorant with what motive Amestris had made her request.

CXI. Conquered at length by her importunity, as well as by the law of custom, which compelled the king on every occasion of this festival to give what was required of him, he granted what she asked, though with extreme reluctance: giving therefore the woman to his wife, he told her to use her as she might think proper; but he immediately sent for his brother, whom he thus addressed: "Masistes, you are a son of Darius, "and my brother; and besides this, you enjoy a "fair reputation; do not any more connect "yourself

" yourself with your present wife; I will give " you my daughter in her place. It is my plea- " sure that you accept of her, and repudiate the " other." " Sir," replied Masistes, in great astonishment, " what am I to understand from " this discourse? would you have me reject a " woman agreeable to me in all respects, by " whom I have had three sons as well as " daughters; one of whom you have married to " your own son; and doing this, afterwards " marry your daughter? Indeed, O king, though " I esteem your offer as the highest honour, I " cannot accept it. Do not compel me to this " measure, for you can have no motive for doing " so; you may find a husband for your daughter " no less suitable than myself; suffer me there- " fore to live with my wife as usual." To this Xerxes in great anger made answer: " You " shall neither, Masistes, marry my daughter, " nor continue to enjoy your present wife, that " you may learn in future to accept what I pro- " pose." Masistes upon this retired, saying only, " You have not, O king, taken away my " life."

CXII. Whilst Xerxes was engaged in this conference with his brother, Amestris, sending for the royal guards, mutilated the wife of Masistes, cutting off her breasts, and throwing them to

to the dogs[95]. She afterwards cut off her nose, her ears, her lips, and her tongue, and in this condition sent her home.

CXIII. Masistes, entirely ignorant of what had happened, yet fearful of some impending calamity, returned hastily to his house. When he saw the situation of his wife, he immediately, after consulting with his children, fled with some adherents to Bactria, with the intention of exciting

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[95] *To the dogs.*]—This horrid act of female cruelty in some degree justifies the strong expressions of Ovid:

Sed neque fulvus aper media tam sævus in ira est,
Fulmineo rapidos dum rotat ore canes,
Nec lea quum catulis lactantibus ubera præbet,
Nec brevis ignaro vipera læsa pede,
Fæmina quam socii deprehensa pellice lecti;
Audet, et in vultu pignora mentis habet,
In ferrum flammasque ruit.

See some instances of extraordinary female cruelty recorded by Stephens, in his Apology for Herodotus; one of which is so horrible, as almost to exceed the imagination. A young woman, deserted by her lover, by whom she was with child, used violence to make herself miscarry three months before her time, and then murdered her infant with the most shocking and terrible barbarity. It is impossible, says Dr. Prideaux, that a woman of so vile and abominable a character as this Amestris was, could ever have been that queen of Persia, who by the name of Esther is so renowned in Holy writ, and is there recorded as the instrument by which God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them.—*T.*

citing that province to revolt, and of doing the king essential injury. If he had once arrived in Bactria, among the Sacæ *, this I believe would have been accomplished; he was the governor of Bactria, and exceedingly beloved in his province. But Xerxes having intelligence of his designs, sent a body of forces against him, who intercepting him in his progress, put him, his children, and his followers to death. So much for the amour of Xerxes, and the death of Masistes.

CXIV. The Greeks, sailing from Mycale towards the Hellespont, were obliged by contrary winds to put in at Lectum: thence they proceeded to Abydos. Here they found the bridge, which they imagined was entire, and which was the principal object of their voyage, effectually broken down. They on this held a consultation; Leutychides, and the Lacedæmonians with him, were for returning to Greece; the Athenians, with their leader Xanthippus, advised them to continue

* *Sacæ.*]—The Sacæ must have been a very powerful and warlike tribe; they performed the most important services, first at Marathon Erato, 113, and afterwards at Platæa. They had in succeeding times a great share in overthrowing the Macedonian empire, and they made extensive conquests in Armenia. See Strabo.

Cyrus also, in his views upon Babylon, was prepared to meet with serious resistance from the Sacæ.

continue where they were, and make an attempt on the Chersonese. The Peloponnesians returned; but the Athenians, passing from Abydos to the Chersonese, laid siege to Sestos.

CXV. To this place, as by far the strongest in all that district, great numbers had retired from the neighbouring towns, as soon as it was known that the Greeks were in the Hellespont: among others was Œobazus of Cardia, a Persian who had previously collected here all that remained of the bridge. The town itself was possessed by the native Æolians, but they had with them a great number of Persians and other allies.

CXVI. The governor of this place under Xerxes, was Artayctes, a Persian, of a cruel and profligate character. He had imposed upon Xerxes when on his way to Athens, and had fraudulently taken from Elæos, the wealth of Protesilaus[96], the son of Iphiclus. In Elæos of the Chersonese,

[96] *Protesilaus.*]—He was a Thessalian: he went to the siege of Troy at the head of the troops of Phylace, Pyrrhasus, Itene, &c. He was killed by a Trojan as he disembarked. Various opinions are found in the Scholiast on Homer on this subject. Some affirm, according to that, that the Trojan who slew him was Æneas, others that it was Euphorbus. Some assign to Hector the honour of his death, others to Achates.—*Larcher.*

Chersonese, was a tomb of Protesilaus, with an enclosure round it, which had been erected to his honour. Here were considerable riches, a number of gold and silver vessels, besides brass, vests, and many votive offerings: of all these Artayctes possessed himself, having first insidiously obtained the king's sanction. "Sir," said he, "there is in this country the house of a "Greek, who entering your dominions with an "armed force, met with the death he merited. "Give it to me, as an example to others, not to "commit hostilities in your empire." The king, having no suspicion of his object, was without difficulty persuaded to grant him the house. Artayctes asserted that Protesilaus had committed hostilities within the king's dominions, because the Persians consider all Asia as their own[97], and the property of their reigning monarch. Having by the king been rendered master of all this wealth, he removed it to Sestos; the ground which it had before occupied at Elæos, he ploughed and planted; and as often as he went there afterwards, he enjoyed his wives in the sanctuary. At this time he was closely besieged by the Greeks, unprepared for defence, and not expecting these enemies who came upon him by surprize.

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[97] *As their own.*]—See book i. c. 135.

CXVII. Whilst they were prosecuting the siege, the autumn arrived. The Athenians, unable to make themselves masters of the place, and uneasy at being engaged in an expedition so far from their country, intreated their leaders to conduct them home. They, in return, refused to do this, till they should either succeed in their enterprize, or be recalled by the people of Athens, so intent were they on the business before them.

CXVIII. The besieged, under Artayctes, were reduced to such extremity of wretchedness, that they were obliged to boil for food, the cords of which their beds were composed. When these also were consumed, Artayctes, Œobazus, with some other Persians, fled, under cover of the night, escaping by an avenue behind the town, which happened not to be blockaded by the enemy. When the morning came, the people of the Chersonese made signals to the Athenians from the turrets, and opened to them the gates. The greater part commenced a pursuit of the Persians, the remainder took possession of the town.

CXIX. Œobazus fled into Thrace; but he was here seized by the Apsinthians, and sacrificed, according to their rites, to their god Pleistorus:

torus[98]: his followers were put to death in some other manner. Artayctes and his adherents, who fled the last, were overtaken near the waters of Ægos, where, after a vigorous defence, part were slain, and part taken prisoners. The Greeks put them all in chains, Artayctes and his son with the rest, and carried them to Sestos.

CXX. It is reported by the people of the Chersonese, that the following prodigy happened to one of those whose business was to guard the prisoners. This man was broiling some salt fish; having put them on the fire, they moved and

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[98] *Pleistorus.*]—This deity, barbarous as the people by whom he was worshipped, is totally unknown. The sacrifices offered him induce me to conjecture, that it was the god of war, whom the Scythians represented under the form of a sword. These people, over a large vessel, cut the throat of every hundredth prisoner, wetting the sword with their blood. The same custom prevailed among the Huns. —See *Ammianus Marcellinus*, l. xxxi. c. 2. The Cilicians paid the god of war a worship savage like this; they suspended the victim, whether a man or an animal, from a tree, and going to a small distance, killed it with their spears.—*Larcher.*

Cruel as these customs may appear, yet prevailing among a rude and uncivilized people, they are more to be justified, than the unprovoked and unnatural inhumanity practised at Tauris. Here every stranger, whom accident or misfortune brought to their coast, was sacrificed to Diana.—See *The Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides.—T.*

and skipped about like fish lately taken; the standers-by expressing their astonishment at this, Artayctes, who also beheld the prodigy, sent for the man to whom it had happened, and spoke to him as follows: "My Athenian friend, be not "alarmed at this prodigy, it has no reference "to you, it regards me alone. Protesilaus of "Eleæos, although dead and embalmed in salt, "shews that he has power from the gods to in- "flict vengeance on the man who injured him. "I am therefore disposed to satisfy him for my "ransom. In place of the money which I took "from his temple, I will give him a hundred "talents; for my son's life, and my own, I will "give the Athenians two hundred more." These offers had no effect upon Xanthippus the Athenian general; he was of himself inclined to put the man to death, to which he was farther importuned by the people of Eleæos, who were very earnest to have the cause of Protesilaus avenged. Conducting him therefore to the shore where the bridge of Xerxes had been constructed, they there crucified him; though some say this was done upon an eminence near the city of Madytus. The son was stoned in his father's presence.

CXXI. The Athenians, after the above transactions, returned to Greece, carrying with them, besides vast quantities of money, the fragments of the bridge, to be suspended in their temples.

During

During the remainder of the year they continued inactive.

CXXII. Of this Artayctes, who was crucified, the grandfather by the father's side was Artembares, who drew up an address for the Persians, which they approving, presented to Cyrus; it was to this effect: "Since, O Cyrus, Jupiter "has given to the Persians, and by the degra- "dation of Astyages to you, uncontrouled do- "minion, suffer us to remove from our present "confined and sterile region to a better. We "have the choice of many, near and at a dis- "tance; let us occupy one of these, and become "examples of admiration to the rest of mankind. "This is a conduct becoming those whose supe- "riority is conspicuous; we can never have a "fairer opportunity of doing this, being at the "head of so many people, and masters of all "Asia." Cyrus, though he did not approve what they said, told them they might do so: but he added, that by taking such a step, they must learn in future not to command but to obey. It was the operation of nature, that luxurious countries should render men effeminate[99], for delicacies

[99] *Effeminate.*]—Hippocrates confirms what is here asserted by Herodotus. After describing the advantages which the temperate parts of Asia possess over Greece; he adds, that

cies and heroes were seldom the produce of the same soil. The Persians yielded to these sentiments of Cyrus, and abandoned their own. They chose rather a less pleasant country with dominion, than a fairer one with servitude.

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that the men there are not naturally valiant, and are unwilling to support fatigues and hardships. This sentiment is approved by experience. Greece subdued Asia, the Romans became masters of both those countries, and if they also conquered the Gauls, the Germans, and other nations of the north, it was because these were undisciplined, and ignorant of the art of war. When they became so, they in their turn subdued the lords of the world, and dismembered their empire. The Franks vanquished the Gauls, the Lombards, and the Visigoths of Spain. In a word, it is always to be observed, that the people of the north have the advantage over those of the south.—*Larcher.*

The ninth cannot be thought the least interesting of the books of Herodotus. The battles of Platæa and Mycale would alone claim attention, without those beautiful moral sentiments which we find every where interspersed in it. The behaviour of Pausanias after his victory, his dignity, moderation, and modesty, are admirably described; his continence, with respect to the mistress of Pharandates, may, for any thing I see to the contrary in either history, well be put on a par with the so much vaunted temperance of Scipio on a similar occasion. The concluding sentiment, which teaches that the dispositions of men should be conformed to the nature of the soil and climate in which they are born, is alike admirable for the simplicity with which it is conveyed, and the philosophic truth which it inculcates.—*T.*

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